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ABSTRACT

Addressing the conference theme, "The Most Effective Strategy for Rural Development", the papers presented in these proceedings include representation from: Australia; Germany; Hong Kong; Indonesia; Japan; Republic of Korea; Malaysia; Philippines; Thailand; U.S.A.; and Republic of China. Papers are titled: "Community Development through Saemaul Movement in Korea"; "The Dynamics of Rural Community Growth"; "Community Development in Rural Areas of the Republic of China"; "Rural Development through Community Development"; "The Most Efficient Strategy to Promote Rural Development"; "Principles Governing Rural Development Work in Thailand"; "The National Union of Plantation Workers"; "Community Development, Agricultural Extension Education, and Demonstration Village for Integrated Development"; "Universities and Rural Development"; "The Supporting Role of a Health Service in a Development Society"; "The Plan to Help the Needy"; "The Self-Employment Assistance Program"; "An Evaluation on the Hsiao-kang (well to do) Program of Eliminating Poverty"; "Periodic and Permanent Poverty in Rural Areas"; "Movement for the Development of the People"; "Some Projects of Fighting Poverty in Taiwan"; "The Fading of Earthbound Compulsion in a Hong Kong Village: Population Mobility and Its Economic Implication"; "The Commercial Model and Small Scale Agriculture"; "Land Tenure and Economic Development"; "Social Development and Goal Conflicts"; "Determining Strategy in a Community Development Program"; "Urbanization and Rural Change (near Bangkok). (JC)

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Proceedings
of
The Third Asian Pacific Social Development Seminar

ASPAC

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

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Cultural and Social Centre
for the Asian and Pacific Region
Seoul

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Proceedings
of

The Third Asian Pacific Social Development Seminar

15—21 June 1976
Taipei, Republic of China

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for the Asian and Pacific Region
Seoul

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Foreword

From its inception in October 1968, the Cultural and Social Centre for the Asian and Pacific Region, by virtue of its mandate, has always laid stress on the cultural aspect of its work. It was not until May 1972 that a first venture was made into the social field and the first Social Development Seminar took place in Taipei under the joint sponsorship of the Centre and the Government of the Republic of China. The theme of the conference was "Thd Role of the Intellectual in Social Development." Lest this be thought of as an armchair approach, let me add that the intellectual in Chinese culture and tradition has always been a leader in the community.

One practical resolution passed by the seminar that resulted into something concrete was the publication last year of a Social Development Guidebook for Asia and the Pacific region. This Guidebook has now been distributed free of charge by the Centre.

The second Social Development Seminar with the theme "The Preservation of Human Values in the Process of Economic Development" took place in Manila in May 1974, co-sponsored by the Centre and the Philippine Government. A reading of the Proceedings of this seminar shows the depth and wealth of knowledge that went into the discussions of its theme. What I find most significant is the general agreement among the participants on the integral approach to development, in the words of one participant, the principle of human fulfillment.

In the third seminar, in which I was privileged and honored to attend, the theme threshed out by the participants was of a more practical bent, "The Most Effective Strategy to Promote Rural Development." Our co-sponsor, the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction of the Republic of China, went out of its way to ensure the success of the meeting. The participants were so enthusiastic that often the discussions would continue way beyond the time alloted for the sessions. A great number of papers presented to the seminars were also beyond our expectations.

What made the seminar doubly successful was the two and a half day tour of the southern region of the Republic of China where the participants had a rare view of the land reform and social development of the rural population of this great nation.

I only wish we could incorporate into this Proceedings the detailed descriptions of all the very fine institutions and agencies visited by the participants, for show, beyond and doubt, the most effective strategies used in the Republic of China for social development in rural areas. However, time and finances will not permit us such luxury.

In closing, I wish to express our gratitude and appreciation to the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction as well as the various Ministries of the Republic of China which collaborated in making the third seminar on social development a great success.

1 October 1976
Seoul

LEE DONG WHAN
Director

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PROSPECTUS

THE THIRD ASIAN PACIFIC SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT SEMINAR

15–21 June 1976
Taipei, Republic of China

1. Introduction

The Cultural and Social Centre for the Asian and Pacific Region, in collaboration with the Government of the Philippines, sponsored the Second Social Development Seminar at Manila from 6 to 11 May 1974. The first such seminar sponsored by the Centre took place at Taipei, in co-operation with the Government of the Republic of China, from 17 to 23 May 1972. Its theme was "The Role of the Intellectual in Social Development in the Asian and Pacific Region". As the main thrust of the Centre's activities has always been on the cultural phase of its work, this seminar was the Centre's first modest venture into the social field. It, however, proved successful beyond expectations. The second seminar, whose theme was "The Preservation of Human Values in the Process of Economic Development", took one step forward in delving into the human elements that are often overlooked or set aside in the onrush toward social development.

The forthcoming Seminar aims to act as a forum for exchange of views and information on problems concerning rural development, with the theme of "The Most Effective Strategy for Rural Development". Designed to be of a practical nature, the meeting will investigate areas in which the Centre may launch its own humble programs in a field where so much remains to be done.

2. Purpose

The purpose of this meeting is to bring together experts on community development, intermediate technology, agricultural economics, and related fields, among government officials or private individuals, actively engaged in rural development and fully acquainted with effective strategies for uplifting social conditions in rural areas. This seminar will also provide the opportunity to examine case studies of successful strategies to be presented by the participants from many countries. Besides, Taipei, the site of the Conference, will afford participants a chance to study and observe firsthand the Republic of China's well-known land reform system and rural development.

3. Topics for Discussion and Basis for Country Paper

1) The Most Effective Strategy to Eliminate Poverty in Rural Areas
2) Rural Development Through Community Development
3) The Planning and Utilization of Rural Manpower

4) The Problem concerning Migration of Manpower from Rural to Urban Areas

5) Other related problems

4. Host Agency

The Ministry of Education, co-sponsored by *the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction*, Ministry of Interior and Taiwn Provincial Government of the Republic of China

5. Time and Duration

One week: 15 to 21 June, 1976

6. Venue

Taipei, Republic of China

7. Participants

1) One delegate from each member country, who is either government official or a private individual actively engaged in rural development and fully acquainted with effective strategies for uplifting social conditions in rural areas.
2) Participants from organizations or institutions engaged in social development and related fields from member and non-member countries to be invited by the Centre.

8. Working Language

English

9. Presentation of Papers

Each delegate representing a member country and participant representing a private institution or agency will be asked to prepare a presentation paper to be read and discussed at the Seminar on the suggested topics for discussion given above (See Item 3) or on their respective experiences relating to community development. Five (5) copies of the paper should be submitted to the Centre before 10 June 1976 and 30 copies to the Conference Secretariat upon registration.

10. Air Fares and Per Diem Allowances

1) Round-trip economy class air tickets will be provided for one official delegate from each member country.
2) Per diem allowances of US$30.- for 5 days will be provided for one official delegate from each member country.
3) Other participants are asked to shoulder their own airfares to and from Taipei. However, their hotel, meals, and inland travelling expenses during the Seminar period (one week) will be provided by the Host Government.

PROGRAMME OF THE SEMINAR

Venue: JCRR Building, 37 Nanhai Road, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China

Tuesday, 15th June	**Registration** At the Cataya Hotel, 36 Nanking East Road, Section I, Taipei
Wednesday, 16th June	
9:00—10:30	**Opening Session** 1. Opening address by Mr. Lee Dong Whan, Director of Cultural & Social Center, ASPAC 2. Congratulatory message from H. E. Yen Chia-kan President of the Republic of China 3. Welcome Address by H.E. Y. S. Tsiang, Minister of Education, Republic of China 4. Keynote speech by Dr. Y. K. Mao, Chief, Rural Economics Division of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, Republic of China
10:30—10:45	**Coffee Break**
11:00—11:30	**Audience with H.E. President Yen at the Presidential Office**
11:40—12:20	**Plenary Session** 1. Adoption of Rules of Procedure of the Seminar 2. Election of Chairman and Vice Chairmen of the Seminar and Working Sessions Chairmen 3. Appointment of Rapporteurs and members of the Drafting Committee
12:30—14:00	**Luncheon by Mr. Lee Dong Whan, Director of Cultural & Social Center, ASPAC**
14:30—16:00	**First Working Session** Subject: Rural Development through Community Development
16:00—16:20	**Coffee Break**
16:20—17:30	**First Session (continued)**
19:00	**Dinner jointly hosted by the Ministry of Education and the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction**
Thursday, 17th June	
9:00-10:20	**Second Working Session** Subject: The Planning and Utilization of Rural Manpower
10:20—10:40	**Coffee Break**
10:40—12:00	**Second Session (continued)**
12:30—14:00	**Lunch**

14:30—16:00	**Third Working Session** Subject: The Most Effective Strategy to Eliminate Poverty in Rural Areas
16:00—16:20	**Coffee Break**
16:20—17:30	**Third Session (continued)**
19:00	**Dinner**
Friday through Sunday 18th–20th June	**Field Trip**
Monday, 21st June	
9:00—10:30	**Closing Session** **Report of the Rapporteurs**
10:30—10:50	**Coffee Break**
10:50—12:00	**Closing Ceremony**
12:30	**Lunch**

FIELD TRIP ITINERARY
(18–20 JUNE, 1976)

June 18 (Friday)	
7:30— 8:10	Taipei to Tao-yuan (by chartered bus)
8:10— 9:10	Visit the Land Reform Exhibit
9:10— 9:20	Tao-yuan to Nei-li
9:20—10:00	Visit Vocational Training Center (for low-income and destitude youths)
10:00—13:00	Nei-li to Taichung Harbor
13:00—14:00	Lunch
14:00—15:30	Visit Taichung Harbor construction project
15:30—16:00	Enroute to Taichung city
16:00—16:20	Visit Sewing Training Class
16:30	Arrive at hotel
17:50—18:30	Visit Taiwan Provincial Government
18:30—19:00	Courtesy call on Governor T. M. Shieh and receive briefing on provincial administration
19:00—	Dinner by Governor T. M. Shieh (RON: Taichung)
June 19 (Saturday)	
8:00— 9:30	Taichung to Chutang
9:30—10:10	Visit Min-ching Rural Community Integrated Development Project
10:10—10:50	Chutang to Hsilo
10:50—12:00	Visit Hsilo Township Farmers' Association
12:00—13:00	Lunch
13:00—13:30	Hsilo to Tou-nan
13:30—14:00	Visit Chiang-chun Community Development Project
14:00—16:00	Chiang-chun to Tainan
16:00—16:30	Visit Jen-ai Old Folks Home & Orphanage

16:30—17:30	Tainan to Kaohsiung
17:30—	Arrive at hotel
18:40—19:00	Courtesy call on Mayer Y. Y. Wang of Kaohsiung
19:00—	Dinner by Mayer Y. Y. Wang
	(RON: Kaohsiung)
June 20 (Sunday)	
8:30— 9:00	Visit Provincial Kaohsiung Mental Hospital
9:00— 9:30	Enroute to China Shipbuilding Corp.
9:30—10:30	Visit Kaohsiung Shipyard of China Shipbuilding Corp.
10:30—11:00	Enroute to airport
11:40—12:20	Kaohsiung to Taipei

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Country	*Name*	*Title*
Australia	Prof. & Mrs. John S. Nalson	Head, Dept. of Sociology, University of New England
	Prof. E. K. Fisk	Executive Director, Development Studies Center, Australian National University
	Prof. G. L. McClymont	Dean, Faculty of Rural Science, University of New England
Germany	Mr. Eugen Reinhardt	Project Director Manabo Irrigation of the Philippines
Hong Kong	Dr. Rance Pui-leung Lee	Director, Social Research Center, The Chinese University of Hong Kong
Indonesia	Mr. & Mrs. A. Mariono, M.D.	Chairman, Association of Voluntary Health Service of Indonesia
	Mr. Soetrisno Kusumohadi	Central Java Representative Yayasan Indonesia Sejahfera
	Miss Kristera Sri Radati	Director of Vocational High School in Home Economics
Japan	Prof. Koichi Mizuno	Prof. of Anthropology The Center for Southeast Asian Studies in Kyoto University
	Prof. Yoshinobu Takahashi	Faculty of Economics, Kagoshima University
	Prof. Isao Orishimo	Dept. of Economics, Rissho University
	Prof. Zensaburo Sakata	Dept. of Sociology, Dokukyo University
Republic of Korea	Mr. Youl-mo Dong	Chief of Community Development Division, Office of Rural Development

	Prof. Il Moon Cho	Dean, College of Law and Economics, Kon-Kuk University
	Mr. Hee Sup Park	Director, Cooperative Education Institute
	Prof. In Kyom Kim	Kon-Kuk University
	Prof. Kung Ho Kim	Chuong Nam University
Malaysia	Mr. N. S. Anthonymuthu	General Secretary, P.K.R., Movement for the Development of the People
	Mr. Ishak Bin Buyong	Industrial Relation Officer N.U.P.W., PK., Branch
	Miss Chow Joon Francisca Chai	Community Worker
Philippines	Mrs. Geraldine Veloso	Social Worker, Region V Dept. of Social Welfare
	Dr. Jesus M. Montemayor	Chairman, Dept. of Land Tenure and Management Agrarian Reform Institute University of the Philippines at Los Banos
	Mr. Cecilio A. Acasio	Management Consultant of Sariling Sikap, CENDHHRA/ SARILING SIKAP INC.
Thailand	Prof. Khunying Suparb Visesurakarn (Mrs.)	Adviser to the Council & Vice-Chairman of the Committee on the Rural Development
	Mrs. Bupphan Nimmanahaeminda	President of the New Life Foundation in Chiengmai, and Chairman of the 5th Regional Coordination Committee Council on Social Welfare of Thailand under the Patronage of His Majesty King
	Mr. Sombat Thavorn	Project Officer, CCTD
	Mr. Nira Kamhangsong	Director of Rural Life Development
	Mr. Pipat Chaisurine	Manager of the animal Bank Project, Rural Life Development

U. S. A.	Dr. Ming T. Lee	Director, The U.S. Midland Institute for Asian Studies, Creighton University
	Prof. Daniel G. Ross	Pu Jen University
	Prof. Albert R. O'Hara	National Taiwan University
	Dr. Edgar Rust	Principal Analyst, Berkeley Planning Associates, U. S. A.
Republc of China	Mr. Chao-lau MA	Sr. Specialist, PDAF
	Dr. Yu-kang MAO	Chief, Rural Economics Division, JCRR
	Mr. Shui-teh HSU	Commissioner, Dept. of Social Affairs, Taiwan Provincial Government
	Mr. Ten-sun JAN	Deputy Commissioner, Dept. of Social Affairs, Taiwan Provincial Government
	Dr. Mau-ying TJIU	Sr. Specialist, Farmers' Service Division, JCRR
	Dr. Kung-kong CHANG	Chief, Rural Health Div. JCRR
	Mr. Yu-shin KAO	Sr. Specialist, Rural Economics Division, JCRR
	Mrs. Chu-ming WU	Dean, FA Personnel Training Center, PFA
	Mr. Wu-chang WANG	Director, Populorum Progressio Institute
	Mr. Hsiu-hsiung BAI	Professor, National Chengchi University
	Mr. Jing-kang WU	Specialist, Ministry of Interior
	Mr. Yuang-kuang PENG	Section Chief, Bureau of Social Affairs, Taipei Municipal Government
	Mr. Chien-chung TSENG	Sr. Specialist, Bureau of Social Affairs, Taipei Municipal Govertment
	Mr. Cheng-pu HAO	Director of Social, Taipei Municipal Government

	Mr. Pea-shian WANG	Professor, National Taiwan University
	Mr. Kwang LOH	Professor, National Taiwan University
	Mr. Mei-chau LO	Director, Environmental Sanitation Institute
	Mrs. Shu-cheng TAO	Section Chief, Ministry of Interior
	Mr. Chen HSU	Associate Prof, Soochow Univ.
	Mrs. Siu-ching CHU	Sr. Specialist, Dept. of Social Affairs, TPG
	Mr. Wei-ping HSIA	Section Chif, PDAF
	Mr. Ching-chien KIANG	Sr. Specialist, Dept. of Social Affairs, TPG
	Dr. Tsong-shien WU	Professor, National Taiwan University
	Dr. Wei-liu WANG	Professor, National Chung Hsing University
	Dr. Martin M.C. YANG	Professor, Soochow Univ.
	Mr. Kung-hsin WU	Prof., National Chung Hsing University
	Mr. Hsueh-ping TANG	Sr. Specialist, Bureau of Social Affairs, Taipei Municipal Government
	Mr. Chia-chuan WANG	Director, Dept. of Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior
Cultural & Social Centre, ASPAC	Mr. Dong-whan LEE	Director
	Dr. Ko-wang MEI	Executive Secretary
	Mr. Mario T. Gatbouton	Public Relations Officer

RULES OF PROCEDURE

1. **Election of Officers**

a. The delegates shall elect a Chairman to preside over the Seminar.
b. The delegates shall elect two to three Vice-Chairmen to assist the Chairman.
c. The Chairman may nominate Session Chairmen with the approval of the delegates.
d. The Chairman shall nominate two Rapporteurs with the approval of the delegates.

2. **Secretariat of the Seminar**

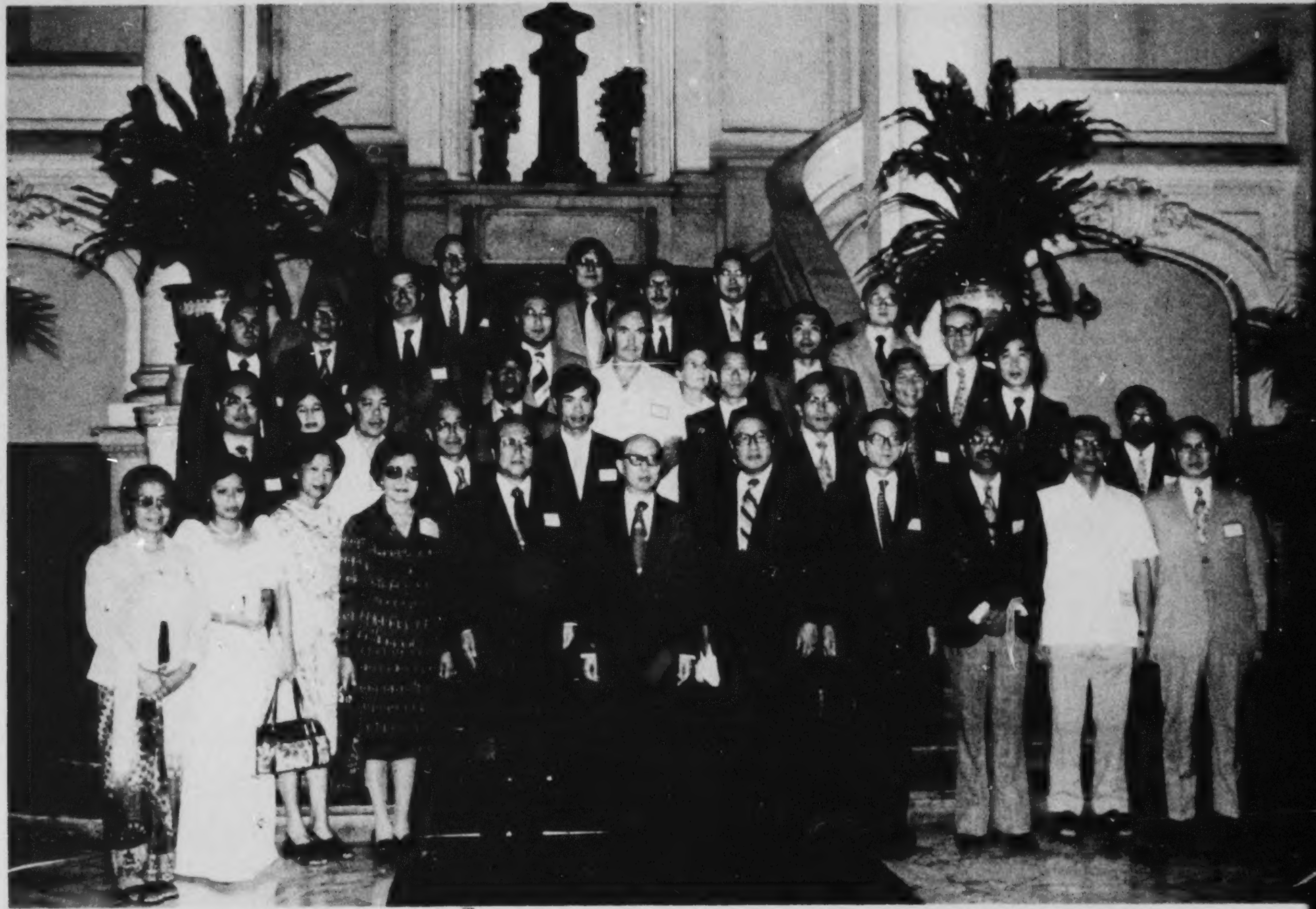
The Secretary-General of Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, Republic of China, shall establish the Secretariat of the Seminar in collaboration with the Centre.

3. **Drafting Committee**

The members of the Drafting Committee shall be nominated by the Chairman with the approval of the delegates and shall be responsible for the preparation of the summary report and recommendations.

4. **General Procedures**

a. All participants of the Seminar are delegates.
b. Two-thirds of the delegates present shall constitute a forum
c. All measures shall be adopted by a majority of delegates.
d. English shall be the working language of the Seminar.



Audience with H. E. President Yen Chia-kan at the Presidential Residence by the Participants to the Seminar on 15 June 1976

The First Working Session chaired by Dr Y. K. Mao (third from left), Chief Delegate from the Republic of China

Prof. Edgar Rust from the U.S.A. delivering paper on the Dynamics of Rural Community Growth

Mr Hee Sup Park explaining the Cooperative Movements in Korea as a Case Study

Prof. McClymont of Australia presents his paper on Universities and Rural Development

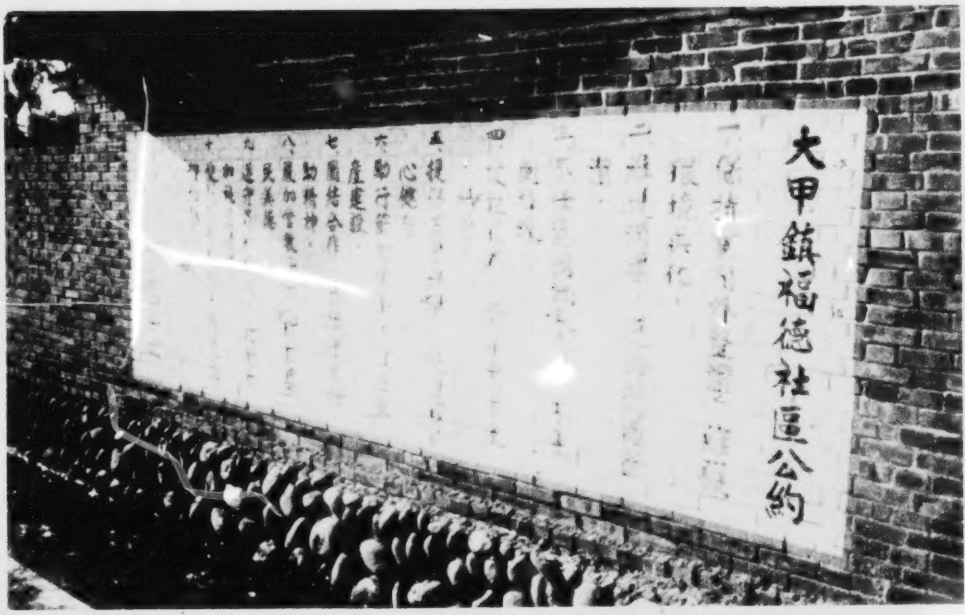
Dr Mariono of Indonesia presenting his paper on the Role of Health Services

Prof. Rance Pui-leung Lee from the Chinese University of Hong Kong presents his study on a Hong Kong Village

Governor Shieh of the Taiwan Provincial Government (third from left) at the Reception for the participants

Participants viewing a Newly Developed Village during the field tour

Participants observing a Community Vocational Training Center



Community Rules for a newly developed village in the town of Ta Cha in Taichung County

WELCOME TO
UISHED DELEGATES OF THE THIRD ASIAN PACIFIC SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT SEMINAR
歡迎 第三屆亞太地區社
研討會代表

Briefing at the Taiwan Provincial Government's Information Center

Prof. Visesurakarn from Thailand chairing the Closing Session

The Rapporteur's Report is presented by Dr Mariono of Indonesia at the closing of the Seminar

THE REPORT OF RAPPORTEURS

Theme "THE MOST EFFECTIVE STRATEGY TO PROMOTE RURAL DEVELOPMENT"

Tuesday: 15 June 1976

The Delegates and Participants started to come in and were registered at the Cataya Hotel, 36 Nanking Road, Section I, Taipei.

17:30—Tea at Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction Building tendered by Dr. Mei Ko-wang, Executive Secretary, Cultural and Social Center for Asian and Pacific Region.

Wednesday: 16 June 1976

9:00 OPENING CEREMONIES

The Master of Ceremonies was Mr. Spencer S. Shih

Opening Address by Mr. Lee Dong Whan, Director of Cultural and Social Center, ASPAC

Mr. Lee formally opened the Seminar and welcomed all the participants. He emphasized that the gathering is significant for two reasons: 1) JCRR staff's had been working hard on this seminar and 2) the theme of the seminar is urgent for the future of Asian and Pacific Region.

The overall objective is human fulfillment. Finally, he expressed his gratitude and appreciation to the people concerned.

Congratulatory Message from the President C. K. Yen of the Republic of China. He extends welcome to all delegates and participants; to ASPAC Cultural and Social Centre extended appreciation for holding the seminar here in Taipei. The theme is significant for it emphasizes the policy of The Republic of China's agricultural development as base for industrialization.

Welcome Address by Dr. Y. S. Tsiang, Minister of Education, Republic of China. He welcomed the delegates and participants and expressed the hope and desire to improve the lot of small size farmers: rural development. Exchange of ideas and experiences bring about Communication and neighborliness.

Keynote Speech by Dr. Y. K. Mao

Described about Taiwan as an island: area, population, people and agricultural production, thus, a strong rural development program is initiated. Taiwan's strategy on Rural Development is as follows:

—land reform program
—agricultural adaptive research
—farmers organization
—farm extension and education
—credit for farmers
—marketing of farm produce

—construction of infrastructure
—community development

Summarily: Taiwan's rural development efforts to three steps:—first, to give farmers an incentive to produce more; second, to provide them with modern farm imputs; and third, to encourage them to participate in business and community activities which are intimately related to their lives.

After the Opening Session, there was more time, thus, the body decided to proceed and started the PLENARY SESSION.

Rules of Procedure of the seminar have been adopted by the body.

Election Followed and the following were elected:

Chairman	—Dr. Y. K. Mao, China
Vice Chairmen	—Mr. Youl-mo Dong, Korea —Prof. Isao Orishimo, Japan —Mrs. Khunying Suparb Visessurakarn, Thailand
Working Session Chairmen	—Prof. G. L. McClymont, Australia —Dr. Jesus M. Montemayor, Philippines —Mr. Eugen Reinhardt, Germany.
Rapporteurs	—Dr. A. Mariono, M. D., Indonesia —Mr. Cecilio A. Acasio, Philippines
Drafting Committee	—Three (3) Working Session Chairmen and the two (2) Rapporteurs
Secretary-General	—Mr. Spencer S. Shih, China
Secretariat	—JCRR Staff

10:30 Coffee Break

11:00 Audience with His Excellency, President Yen at the Presidential Palace. Picture-taking followed the audience with the President included.

12:30 Luncheon tendered by Director Lee Dong Whan at Blue Skies, Top Floor of Chia Hsin Building.

Part I CONFERENCE

14:30 FIRST WORKING SESSION

Subject: "Rural Development Through Community Development"

Chairman: Prof. G. L. McClymont, Australia

Speakers:

1. Mr. Youl-mo Dong, Korea "Community Development Through Saemaul movement in Korea" (See Attachment I)
2. Prof. Edgar Rust, U.S.A. "The Dynamics of Rural Community Growth" (See Attachment I)
3. Prof. Hsiu-Hsiung Bai, China: "Community Development in Rural Areas of the Republic of China"

Community Development in ROC has two-fold mission: 1) as a goal of the social policy, it must accomplish the task of *Ming Sheng* reconstruction and

2) as a method of social work, it must motivate the inhabitants so as to bring about their spirit of self-rule and initiative to coordinate government measures in developing communities that conform to the ideals of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People and comply with the needs of the people's livelihood and national defense. He presented the state of CD in rural areas with its goals and key points in the implementation.

In the third part of his paper, he reviews and evaluates CD in the rural areas with suggestions and recommendations for improvement and effective results.

Rejoinder is made by Prof. James C. Hsu:

CD may be defined as an approach to rural development, hence, CD is a process of social action, in which the people of the village

—organize themselves for planning and action;
—define their common needs and problems;
—make group plans to meet their needs and solves their problems;
—implement projects with a maximum reliance upon community resources and with some technical or financial assistance from government agencies.

In this sense of CD, this has made great contribution to rural areas in Taiwan both in organization and education of the people.

4. Sombat Thavorn, Thailand: "The most Effective Strategy to Promote Rural Development"

This paper is based on experience viewed from Catholic Council of Thailand for Development. Started with study and analysis of the causes of poverty in rural areas and stated some strategy as follows:

—decentralization
—conscientization
—one acts as catalyst or change agent
—Rural leadership training
—coordination/collaboration with different agencies
—formation of group dynamism and its utilization to develop the group and community
—human behaviour must be taken into account.

Causes and failures of CD are given. Attachment are specific projects.

16:00 COFFEE BREAK

16:20 Participants were broken into smaller groups with groupings according to themes brought about by the speakers.

19:00 Dinner tendered jointly by the Ministry of Education and JCRR at Szechuan Restaurant, Ambassador Hotel.

Thursday, 17 June 1976

9:00 Summary of the small group discussions to close the first working session. (See Attachment II)

Reports: Group on Bai's paper

The discussion revolves around the idea between national government plans vis-a-vis the people (rural community). The people must be informed and organized so that they can present their needs and government should be aware of the need of the people. Education of the people is necessary and that wants and needs of the people can have its proper analysis and evaluation. Important is that the people participant.

SECOND WORKING SESSION FOLLOWED

Chairman: Dr. Jesus M. Montemayor, Philippines
Subject: "The Planning and Utilization of Rural Manpower"
No specific paper has been written on the subject, thus, a line-up of speakers was necessary.

1. Mrs. Suparb talks about the five-year social economic plans in Thailand beginning in 1977, some of the objectives are as follows:
   a. increase agricultural produce by involving the rural manpower instead of machineries
   b. employment of labor with small scale construction facilities
   c. setting up of small cottage industries
   d. encourage savings of farmers for self-help and future capital
   e. coordination of different rural units/agencies working in the rural areas
   f. setting up of rural development centers to act as linkages for rural and urban population.
2. Mr. Hee Sup Park, Korea, talks about manpower training right at the grass root level. This has been what Cooperative Education Institute (CEI) of Korea is doing up to the present time. The steps of their training is first at the grass root level: motivation and orientation to cooperative movement; then, pre-membership training and leadership training to develop conviction, commitment and dedication and finally the officers training and volunteers for field officers. Mr. Park believes that Development is a process (ability to organize/mobilize or utilize human resources) for the common good.
3. Mr. Jesus M. Montemayor, Philippines, discusses rural manpower in the context of planning and utilization more often than not is viewed as a commodity in the labor market: to be bought and sold but there are more basic and fundamental questions to raised: First, who benefits from manpower training? Not only in the village level but national and international level. In the trained manpower for economic it is more often the rich and the multi national corporation making the profits, hence there is a need for re-structuring present system . . . social justice and equity for the return of profits where labor is a partner and not a commodity. Hence, Social Development is actualization of human needs either as an individual or as a community in a sharing manner. Hence, the basic concept is sharing and excludes exploitation/monopoly.
4. Ishak Bin Buyong, Malaysia, expressed the present system where the laborers (plantations) become co-owner of the estates where they work.
5. Prof. G. L. McClymont, Australia: "University and Rural Development" Any rural development must have its basic understanding—slowly and painfully in the university (schools). Suggestion is needy on how to improve and to bring effective university facilities for rural development.
   Short open forum was decided so that many can participate
6. Mrs. Suparb made a rejoinder on her previous talk, she presents the National

Council of Social Work. This is a non-government body where they train social worker for the rural areas. Their main activity is to recruit unskilled illiterate women to be train for any skills according to the individual's need.

7. Dr. K. Mariono talks about Indonesian Experience.

Before the division into smaller groups, Mr. Dong presented a slide lectures on the "Green Revolution in Korea."

12:30 LUNCHEON at the Liberty House

14:30 Resume of the Second Working Session with the groups presenting their small group discussion.

Reports: Malaysian Experience

More of the information side on the organization and structure of the new system. Plantation workers now have chance and shares in the ownership of the estate in parts of Malaysia . . . composing like this: 40% foreign investments mainly in machineries; 30% by Malaysians with money to invest and the 30% by the plantation workers. Funds of the workers are deposited in the bank and are built up out of their dues. Management Board is usually composed of the following: 3 representing government, 2 foreign investors, 5 from the malaysian (*i.e.* the rich investing and the plantation workers. The system is working alright but there are still problems connected with the system).

SAEMAUL movement and Manpower:

The SAEMAUL movement involves total utilization of the people of Korea, adults, children, all levels of society, government officials, private business, school teachers and others. There are two educational institute, one for men and one for women. President Park has also set up national awards, namely, the SAEMAUL MEDALS which are given to ordinary farmers for distinguished work in the movement. Regarding coordination among the various Government Ministries, President Park set up in his Presidential office a special Secretary for SAEMAUL, with cabinet rank, under whom a coordinating Office functions, . . . this is the office which pushes the national SAEMAUL programs. In addition, each ministry has a specific task in the SAEMAUL movement, thus, the Education Ministry has a Saemaul education program, the Welfare Ministry, a welfare program and so on. Regarding motivation of the people in their participation in the saemaul the motivation had existed long before the creation of Saemaul. The people in the rural areas had been neglected in the decade of the 60's with the concentration on industrial development which was confined to the cities. President Park was the first Chief Executive to think and do something for the rural folk; he himself, a former school teacher, came from the rural area. When he started the Saemaul in 1971, the people were ripe for the movement because of their desire to improve their lot. Compared to the kibbutz of Israel, the Saemaul uses its own methods according to the deep seated traditions and culture of the Korean people. Furthermore, the Saemaul recognizes private property.

Problem of Illiteracy:

Literacy and Education seems to be very much needed in order to have and effective rural development program. Where literacy rate is very low, the percentage of failure is high especially in family planning programs. Hence, adult education is necessary . . . the education is not simply being able to read and write but also a general knowledge and awareness and attitudes. How to provide general education, depends on the individual situation. But especially by informal DIALOGUE in small groups.

THIRD WORKING SESSION FOLLOWED IMMEDIATELY

Chairman: Fr. Eugen Reinhardt, Germany
Subject: "The Most Effective Strategy to Eliminate Poverty in Rural Areas"
Speakers:

1. Mrs. Chu, China "The Plan to Help the Needy"
2. Mrs. Geraldine Veloso, Philippines "The Self-Employment Assistance Program" This is just one of the many programs of the DSW where assistance to the poor whose income does not go beyond ₱300.00 and feasibility study is presented that it is economically viable.
3. Prof. Hsiu-Hsiung Bai, China "An Evaluation on the Hsiao-Kang (Well-To-Do) Program of Eliminating Poverty"
4. Prof. Nalson, "Periodic and Permanent Poverty in Rural Areas"
5. Mr. Anthonymuthu, Malaysia
6. Dr. K. K. Chang, China (JCRR)
7. Prof. Rance Lee (Hong Kong)
8. Prof. Fisk, Australia
9. Prof. Ming T. Lee
10. Dr. Isao Orishimo, Japan

Because of the number of speakers and since it is the last working session, there was no chance for group discussion. Instead, the whole time was devoted to have as many speakers as possible for the exchange of ideas and experiences from the different countries and participants. The session ended at 17:30.

Comments from Mr. Park of Korea:

One Man's poverty will destroy all men's prosperity and that poverty being the oldest enemy of mankind, everyone's concern is to dedicate and commit to the elimination of poverty.

ATTACHMENT I

1. Mr. Youl-mo Dong, Korea: "Community Development Through Saemul Movement in Korea."

Starting with a short historical review about community development projects in Korea, Mr. Dong introduce the Saemaul Movement as a strategy for community development in Korea. The Korean word *Sae Maul Undong* means New Village Movement.

Mr. Dong explains further about the:

—establishment of the grounds of Saemaul Movement starting in 1973;
—the development of Saemaul Movement in 1974;
—the continuation of Saumaul Movement 1975–1976;
—the effects and problems to be considered in Saumaul Movements.

Finally Mr. Dong summarize the key points leading to successful community development as follows;

(i) Strong leadership and concentrated policy of the government;
(ii) Mental enlightenment of the people, improvement of techniques and development of potential capability by successive discipline and education;
(iii) Voluntary participation of inhabitants and capable leaders in the regional basis;
(iv) Choice of suitable project to the regional conditions and pursue it effectively;
(v) Adoption of new farming technologies for increasing farm production and income;
(vi) All experiences in undertaking projects has applied appropriately to other development projects.

After presenting his paper, a slide performance was given about Saemaul Undong.

2. Prof. Edger Rust, U.S.A.: "The Dynamics of Rural Community Growth".

Based on his studies in the rural areas of North America, Prof. Rust has the opinion that uneven rural community growth can be a serious deterrent to social development.

According to his view a sudden growth of a rural community sends out waves of influences in time and space, many of them negative which can take years or decades to overcome.

Rapid community growth and decline are so closely interconnected that they might be better viewed as a single problem, illustrated as the "Boom and Bust" phenomenon.

Six elements can contribute to a more dynamic rural development policy. These are:

(i) Improved regional planning, coordination and public information factors affecting rural growth;
(ii) Close monitoring of the more transitory aspects of local economic conditions, notably labor surplus and poverty conditions;
(iii) Growth management and land use coordination at a regional scale with emphasis on damping of overshoot growth of population;

(iv) Relocation assistance, with careful attention to timing and needed skills;

(v) Capital facilities programming, aimed at reducing the lag in both upward and downward adjustments of local growth rates;

(vi) Community programmes involvements in the decision process, aimed at a more sensitive definition of problems of opportunities "diagnosis from within as well as from without".

PART II: FIELD TRIP

18th June 1976: Friday

7:35 37 people boarded on one bus and left Cataya Hotel with two police car escorts to begin the field trip to the southern part of Taiwan.

8:29 Arrived at the Land Reform Training Institute. The group was welcome by S. K. Shen and were ushered into the conference room for the slide lecture on the Land Reform Program in Taiwan. The principles outlining the land reform is that of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen: "Land-to-the-Tiller" and Equilization of Land Rights". There are two parts to the land reform: rural land reform and urban land reform. The steps taken are: a) 27.5% rent reduction, b) sale of public/farm land, and c) land-to-the-tiller. This was followed by the farm land consolidation program

Factors leading to the success of land reform are:

1. the strong determination of the government to carry out the programs
2. the adequate preparation before the implementation of each program
3. careful and detailed planning of each project
4. thoroughness of execution
5. support by the people's representatives
6. cooperation of landlords and farmers

After the briefing, the participants were given a tour of the institute.

9:31 the group left The land Reform Training Institute.

9:38 the group arrived at The Taipei Regional Employment Service Center. Briefing immediately followed. The functions of the Center is as follows:

—vocational guidance and vocational assistance for the junior high school graduates

—employment training

—collection and disclosure of the employment market information

—execution of the summons of the technical and skilled manpower from the factories to the arsenals under the mobilization regulations

—assist the government concerned to conduct skill test

—to assist the government concerned to execute The Plan to Help the Needy

—to improve the employers relation, and establish service stations at the industrial areas

Period of training in the Center is from 3 to 6 months depending on the kind of skill training.

After the briefing, the group was given a tour of the facilities and campus.

10:22 the group left for Taichung Harbor Construction.

12:45 arrived at the area near the harbour site and immediately, the group was brought to the lunch.

14:12 the group came to the Harbor Construction site. Briefing followed and tour of the construction. The harbour is going to be one of the international harbours of Taiwan to ease up the traffic in the existing facilities, this is also a way of decentralization of the population and industries for the needed population. The harbour facilities will be modern and sophisticated.

15:44 the group left harbour construction.

16:21—the group arrived at Fu Teh Village. The Village is an example of the Current Stage of Social Welfare Policy of *"Min Sheng Chu I"*. It is a program aiming at eliminating disorder and dirt, beautifying environment, diminising poverty, improving people's living standard, and at the same time correcting people's ways of living and habits as well as reforming social customs and ethnics. Briefing on the Development of the Village was given and followed by a visit to the different houses and some handicrafts.

16:55—left Fu Teh Village on route to Taichung City.

17:30—Arrived at Taichung City and immediately check in to SUN LUCK HOTEL

18:30—Dinner with the Governor at the Taichung Public Library. After the dinner, the group was given a briefing on Taiwan Provincial Government and immediately after the briefing, treated to a cultural presentation of the cultural minorities in Taiwan.

22:10 the Presentation was over and all went back to the Hotel for the night.

19th June 1974: Saturday

8:05 the group left Sun Luck Hotel

9:10—the group arrivd at Chang Hua Hsian. A briefing on their Integrated Development Program in Chutang Township was given. The activities of this Program are: 1) Farm management improvement and farm extension education, 2) Rural environment improvement and home economics extension education, 3) Rural Youth development and 4-H club work. A movie was presented to the participants about their activities and accomplishments. Afterwards, the group left for Hsilo.

10:49—the group arrived at Hsilo township and were immediately brought to the farmers' association building where the credit facilities are handled for the farmers. Briefing on the farmers associations was given and followed by a tour of the farmers' facilities and finally a lunçh was tendered at the canteen of the farmers' association building. After lunch, the group left for Tounan.

13:25—the group arrived at Tounan and visited the Chiang-chun community development project. Then the group left and proceeded to Jen-ai Old Folks Home and Orphanage.

Briefing was given at the Orphanage and visit around the campus and the facilities. The children presented to the group musical programs through their childrens' Band. Also, the group were given special cookies and drinks. The group left for Kaohsiung City.

17:30—arrival of the group in Kaohsiung.

18:30—a reception was tendered by the Mayor who sent a representative in his name.

20 June 1976: Sunday

9:00—the group check out of the Sunshine Hotel and left for the Provincial Kaohsiung Mental Hospital. Briefing was given to the group and the tour of the buildings and facilities. Afterwards, the group left for the Kaohsiung international airport for the plane trip back to Taipei. Forty minutes later, the group landed at the Taipei airport and immediately brought to a restaurant for lunch. After lunch the group came back to CATAYA Hotel for the rest of the day.

ATTACHMENT II

Report Group Discussions

(1) Group on Prof. Rust's paper

The discussion revolves around the rural community action programmes in Prof. Rust's study area.

There is a rural community office to take care of these programmes.

Individual farmers receive attention not on a community basis, but from the Federal Government.

The community Development & Agricultural program in U.S.A. is very decentralized, directed to individual farmer rather than community.

It is very different from the Asian setups.

Due to even population distribution, bypassing remoted rural community is less a problem in Taiwan than in the U.S.A.

(2) Group on Saemaul Movement in Korea

Attention was given by the group on the trial period of Saemaul Movement where the government distributed 335 bags of cement to each of 33,000 rural villages, nationwide.

The question what is more important "the physical or spiritual development" was also discussed, which was finally agreed, that more important is that the self-help will be developed.

Two types of leader exist in the Saemaul Movement, namely the administrative leader, who receives a salary and a voluntary leader without salary. The education of these leaders were also discussed.

Further was discussed the breaking down of wrong conservative villagers attitudes and the changing role of the women leaders.

The administrative organization of the village was also discussed in connection with the Saemaul Movement which is quite separate.

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OPENING ADDRESS

Director Dong Whan Lee
ASPAC Cultural and Social Centre

Honourable Minister Tsiang, Excellencies, distinguished guests, fellow participants, ladies and gentlemen,

It is my great honor and privilege to formally open the Third Asian Pacific Social Development Seminar and welcome you all to this beautiful and premier city of Taipei.

The Cultural and Social Centre, in collaboration with its member governments, has sponsored two seminars on social development: the first in Taipei in May 1972, and the second in Manila in May 1974. This is the first time, however, that we have gathered together under one roof such a large and impressive group of scholars and experts on social development from member and non-member countries.

I consider this highly significant for two good reasons: first, I know that our gracious host, Dr. Y. T. Wang, Secretary-General of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction and his staff have worked hard day and night to organize this most significant conference, for which, as Director of the Centre, I am indeed profoundly gratufel.

Secondly, I believe that there is a growing urgency on the part of all who are involved in the future of the Asian Pacific region to seek solutions, to look for "the most effective strategy" to solve the widening gap between the lifestyles of the urban and rural populations. A recent issue of *Newsweek* (17 May 1976) called attention to this central problem of contemporary Asia and described it as "growing measurably—and dangerously." The emphasis is on *dangerously;* for, indeed, in some parts of Asia, we are racing against time; the time bomb of poverty and misery may explode at any given moment, to engulf us all in other protracted conflicts. Your presence here today speaks more eloquently than words of your involvement, your concern, your oneness with this pestering wound of human kind that needs your healing touch.

As we start our seminar this morning and go about searching for appropriate answers to social development in the rural areas of Asia, I find it pertinent to recall to you the theme of our second seminar held in Manila two years ago, namely, "the preservation of human values in the process of economic development." I believe that social or economic development finds validity only in *integral human development.* In the same manner, rural development finds its prime meaning only in the total system of human life. In other words, in our concern with trees, we are not to overlook the forest; in our involvement with forests, we are not to overlook the trees. In the final analysis, our overall objective is human fulfillment.

With this thought uppermost in mind, I now ask you to share with us and each other the fruits of your reflections as well as the benefits of your experience in our united effort to race against time. I have confidence and deep reliance on the wisdom and expertise of our participants, but over and above all, on your concern, your involvement, your oneness with Asia Pacific's teeming millions living in poverty or subsistance level in rural areas. Your resolutions and recommendations will have far reaching implications and may affect generations yet to come.

On behalf of the Centre and the participants, I wish to thank His Excellency President C. K. Yen for his kind words of encouragement that will sustain us through the days ahead and in years to come. I wish to thank His Excellencies Minister Y.S. Tsiang, Minister F.S. Chang, Governor T.M. Hsieh, Mayor and Chairman C.T. Li whose adorable support made this seminar possible.

Excellencies, distinguished guests, fellow participants, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you all for your kind attendance and interest in the Third Asian Pacific Social Development Seminar which is now open.

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE BY H.E. PRESIDENT YEN CHIA-KAN

On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I wish to extend my cordial welcome to all the delegates, especially those of you who are from abroad, at the opening of this Third Asian Pacific Social Development Seminar here in Taipei.

It behooves me to take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation of the untiring efforts made in the past years by the Cultural and Social Centre for the Asian and Pacific Region in promoting and facilitating the exchange of views, information and experiences in social and cultural development among nations in this region.

The Republic of China has always worked closely with the Cultural and Social Centre and has supported actively the various activities initiated by the Centre in the past. This year, our country has had the privilege of hosting two international conferences sponsored by the Centre. One of them was the 1976 ASPAC Museum Symposium held here last May.

Personally I consider it highly significant that you have chosen "The Most Effective Strategy to Promote Rural Development" as the theme of the Seminar. In the immediate postwar years and during the early 1950s, the policy for economic development in the Republic of China was characterized by a strong emphasis on agricultural development to bring about a healthy rural economy as a base for industrialization. In line with this policy, measures involving institutional and technological innovations as well as the strengthening of rural infrastructure to raise both the rural labor and land productivity were implemented, resulting in notable improvements in the livelihood of our rural people. To further foster rural prosperity, an "Accelerated Rural Development Program" has been in progress since 1973.

As farmers still constitute 36 percent of the population in Taiwan and they also make up a large percentage of the total population in the Asian and Pacific region, the theme of the Seminar is most fitting as it deals with the welfare problem of so many people in this region.

I sincerely hope that during the Seminar you would make a trip to observe in the field what we have done and accomplished in rural development over the years. And I firmly believe that the conclusions of the Seminar will benefit the whole Asian and Pacific region as well as the Republic of China.

I wish you a very successful conference and a pleasant stay in our country.

WELCOME ADDRESS

Dr. Y. S. Tsiang
Minister of Education
Republic of China

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I would like first to extend my hearty welcome, on behalf of the Chinese Government, to all the delegates who are gathered here today for the Third Asian Pacific Social Development Seminar sponsored by the ASPAC Cultural and Social Centre.

All countries in the Asian and Pacific region have in recent years endeavored to promote economic and social development, especially agricultural and rural development, with remarkable results. As agriculture constitutes a prime mover of economic growth and a prosperous rural sector is a prerequisite to social security, how to work out and carry out effective measures to step up rural development as part of the social and economic development effort has become a challenging task confronting the governments in this region.

The theme of this seminar "The Most Effective Strategy to Promote Rural Development" is well suited to our present need. The seminar provides an opportunity for the participants to exchange views on the rural development programs of the various countries. The conclusions emerging from such exchanges will doubtless serve as useful reference in the formulation of better development policies.

We all recognize that, in the course of overall economic development, the natural, social, and economic limitations imposed on the agricultural sector tend to keep down the income of farmers as compared with that of non-farm workers. In areas where development is seriously hampered, the farmers income may even fall below the subsistence level, and this will lead to social instability. A vicious circle will thus be formed—low productivity, destitution, social instability. The ultimate objective of any rural development program unquestionably is to wipe out rural poverty, thereby removing one of the main impediments to national prosperity.

The family farms in this region's free countires are generally small in size. Therefore, to boost the earnings of farmers and enable them to enjoy the benefits of large-scale farming, it would be necessary to promote integrated use of the limited water and land resources on an area-wide basis, encourage planting of the right crop in the right place, and extend joint farming and marketing practices. However, the success of these measures will depend upon the wholehearted cooperation on the part of the farmers. On the other hand, rural community development is aimed at promoting better communication and neighborliness among the rural people and unifying them in both idea and action so that they will take the initiative in jointly improving their livelihood. How to apply the principles of community development to rural development is a subject worthy of serious deliveration.

In comparison with that of other economic sectors, the labor productivity of agriculture always appears low. An effective way to raise agricultural labor productivity is through adequate planning and efficient utilization of the available rural labor force. In the meanwhile, by taking into consideration their own economic conditions and needs, individual countries can determine the amount of rural labor that should be allowed to leave the farm. This will help the development of other sectors and lessen the pressure of population on land. Besides, education of the farmers to update their knowledge of farm management and improve their production methods is a matter that can hardly be neglected. Also to be stressed in rural development planning is the need to train future farmers and encourage well-educated youths to remain on the farm and participate actively in the rural development work.

It is my belief that at this seminar all these subjects will be fully dealt with and very useful conclusions will be reached.

In closing, I wish you all happiness and the seminar a great success.

Thank you.

KEYNOTE SPEECH

THE MOST EFFECTIVE STRATEGY TO PROMOTE RURAL DEVELOPMENT WITH EMPHASIS ON THE EXPERIENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Dr. Y. K. Mao
Chief, Rural Economics Division
Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction

First of all, on behalf of the Chinese delegates, I would like to extend my sincere welcome to all the participants who come from abroad.

1. Introduction

As you will discover on your field trip, Taiwan is not a large island. The total area is only 35,981 square kilometers or 13,890 square miles, two-thirds of which is mountainous terrain. The area actually under cultivation amounts to about 24 percent of the total land area. And yet, today this small island supports a population of more than 16 million people.

During the past 25 years, we have had some success with agricultural development, and our rural areas have undergone considerable change. I hope I will not be boring you by using some figures to illustrate the changes in the rural scene over the past years.

Our economy in 1950 was predominantly agricultural. Rural people made up 53 percent of the civilian population, and farm workers accounted for 59 percent of the total labor force. Agricultural production provided more than 25 percent of the net domestic product.

Since 1950, crop production has more than doubled, livestock production has more than quintupled, and fishery output has increased by more than eight times. In aggregation, the total agricultural output in 1975 was 2.8 times than that in 1950. The average annual growth rate of agricultural production during this 25-year period was 4.3 percent.

Higher production has required a substantial increase in off-farm inputs. The amount of chemical fertilizer used has more than tripled since 1950. There has been a comparable increase in the use of insecticides, fungicides, and other modern supplies.

Power tillers have largely replaced water buffaloes on our farms today. First imported on an experimental scale in the early 1950s, the number of power tillers as late as 1965 was only about 8,700. By 1975, the number had increased to 41,200, one for every twenty farms.

Development has not changed Taiwan's traditional small-farm agriculture. In fact, the average farm size decreased from 1.37 hectare in 1950 to about 1.0 hectare in

1975. But compared with 1950, farm land is now more intensively cultivated.

Farmers' welfare, however, cannot be measured solely by production levels nor by the total income of farm families. Family budgets only partially reflect the availability of social services and amenities, like medical care and education, transportation and communications, housing and electric power, and so on. More than 95 percent of farm families now have electric power. Nearly half of all the farm houses in rural areas are built either of brick or reinforced concrete. Many new forest and rural roads have been constructed, while low-standard country roads have been paved with asphalt.

Also important is the opportunity for rural people, both as individuals and through democratic participation in group activities, to improve their living conditions. In this respect, our farm people have enjoyed notable improvements in the past 25 years.

Rural progress in Taiwan has been achieved largely by means of technological innovations and social justice measures, which have been the results of our development policy.

In contrast with many developing countires, the Republic of China did not take the "industry first" approach when it started to develop its economy in the early 1950s, even though at that time most development theories favored such a course. Instead, we have relied on agricultural development as a foundation for industrial growth. This is why rural development had received so much emphasis in our development planning.

2. Meaning of Rural Development

Largely because of the comparatively disadvantaged condition of the rural people, rural development has long been a concern of the Chinese government and soical leaders. It is interesting to note that when the Chinese and American governments agreed 27 years ago to establish a joint organization for postwar reconstruction in the rural areas of China, they named the organization the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction which is now housed in this building. The meaning of rural reconstruction is very much the same as what we mean by rural development today.

Rural development is a continuing process. It means different things to different people at different times. The contents of a rural development program are determined by many factors—the country where it occurs, the stage of development within that country, the skill and wisdom of its planners and administrators, and the extent to which its citizens are informed, consulted and encouraged to participate. Therefore, it is almost impossible to find a universal pattern and to transfer one country's programs to another.

While the contents of rural development differ from country to country, the purposes of rural development are largely the same. Loosely speaking, rural development can be considered as a development strategy which emphasizes the improvement of rural life and living conditions through economic growth and social justice. Thus a narrow and quantitative appreciation of the economic factors which enter into the development process are not sufficient. It must be supplimented by an analysis of the social factors that make for development.

Rural development can also be viewed as a means to bring about socio-economic changes in rural areas. Moreover, it is not a static phenomenon but a dynamic process which calls for transformation from a traditional to a modern society, movement from stagnation to development, and continued preparation for future growth.

In recent years rural development has become the "in-thing" in development. This is probably because of the development failure in many developing countries which followed the established paths of the Western model. This failure forced them to look back, to turn their attention to the development of rural areas which form the backbone of their economies. At the present time, not only many developing countries have shifted their focus from the development of industry to agriculture, a few international organizations have also shown their interest in assisting in rural development. The World Bank has involved itself by putting its vast lending resource behind rural development programs in an effort to improve the level of living of the world's poor. The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific has also decided to give priority to rural development programs of its member countries.

3. Taiwan's Experience in Rural Development

Since rural development differs in content from country to country and from one time to another, there is not a single strategy or a set of strategies that is applicable universally. As I have just mentioned, the task of rural development is a process of making life more satisfying and fulfilling for the farmers. To be successful, this task requires numerous policy and institutional changes. In my judgement, strategies of rural development must aim simultaneously at ① augmenting economic productivity per hectare and per worker, ② increasing disposable income per family, and ③ expanding public services which enhance the welfare and security of rural people. I would consider it also important to provide more opportunities for participation by rural people in making decisions which affect their lives. However, this cannot be specified simply as a dependent variable—an objective. In some aspects it may be an independent variable—a means to other rural development ends.

In the context which follows I will describe briefly our experience in rural development over the past years—the strategies we have used and the results they have produced.

1. Land reform program:

In the immediate postwar years, farm population in Taiwan constituted more than 50 percent of the total population. The pressure on land was high, and the average farm size was very small. Moreover, many farmers on this island did not even own the small pieces of land which they cultivated. They were merely tenants under the age-old tenure system.

The unequal distribution of land ownership was a deep-rooted social anomaly that had entrenched itself as an institution. With monopolistic power in their hands, the landlords could demand exorbitant payments for the right of tilling their land. Thus, rents were at least 50 percent of the crop harvest. In addition, tenants in most cases had to bear variable costs. To lease a piece of land they had to pay a rent deposit, and to keep it they had to renew it every year. In a situation like this it was naturally difficult to motivate farmers to improve farming techniques to increase their production, and the results were discontent and unrest in the rural areas.

To redress this situation, land reform was the first measure the Chinese government took to promote rural development.

Our land reform program not only was significant socially, but also had very important economic effects. It was implemented in 1949 and completed in 1954.

Rural land reform in Taiwan consisted of three phases: rent reduction, sale of public lands, and the land-to-the-tiller program. It was carried out step by step as a bloodless revolution whereby farm land was gradually transferred in a peaceful manner to the actual tiller. This program has helped the farmers improve their livelihood and brought about a more stable social order in the villages.

In the first stage of the program emphasis was placed on two aspects; reduction of rent and security of tenancy. Under this measure, farm rental rate was set at 37.5 percent of the annual main crop yield, and the tenure of lease was prolonged to a minimum of six years.

The successful implementation of the rent reduction program paved the way for the subsequent introduction of the sale of public lands program, which involved the vast area of public lands in the province, on which a sizable farm population was working as tenants.

The government thought it was unfair to ask landlords to sell their holdings to tenants, while the government itself held large estates. To set an example, the government proceeded to sell public lands to their incumbent cultivators.

The price of public land offered for sale was fixed at 2.5 times the value of the annual main crop yield. The purchase price was to be paid in 20 semi-annual installments. During the ten years of land price payment, the tenant purchasers annual financial burden including the installment payments and farm land tax was less than the "37.5 percent" farm rent paid by tenant farmers on private lands.

Following the sale of public land, the government started the final phase of land reform, known as the land-to-the-tiller program.

Under this program each landlord was allowed to keep three chia (about 2,907 ha.) of medium-grade paddy field or twice that much dry land. Holdings exceeding that limit were purchased by the government. Land so purchased was resold by the government to tenant farmers who had been tilling them.

As in the case of the sale of public land, for each grade of land the price was set at 2.5 times the value of its annual main crop yield. The landlord was paid 70 percent of the land price with land bonds and 30 percent with stocks of government owned industries. This kind of payment arrangement forced the landlords to shift their investment from land to industry.

The benefits of the rural land reform program are many. Needless to say, a direct impact has been a radical change in the tenure system. After the program, farm families owning all or part of the land they tilled increased from 61 percent to 88 percent of the total. Tenant families in the whole province decreased from 39 percent to 12 percent of the total number of families.

Other benefits of social and economic nature can also be observed. On the economic side, land reform has given a great incentive to farmers, which has facilitated the successful implementation of various agricultural measures. As a result of this, great improvements have been made in Taiwan's agriculture. Probably because of the theory that ownership can turn sand into gold, our farmers worked much harder after land reform. The index of multiple cropping shot up from 172 in 1953 to 190 in 1966.

On the social and political side, after land reform, farmers were fed and clothed better and many of them started to build and repair their houses. Since land is the major souce of farm income, land reform has also played an important role in the redistribution of income, which in turn has brought social justice to the rural areas.

Land reform has also brought farmers into community activities. They now show price of ownership and pride in their community. Many have run for and won local public offices. With this improved social and political status of farmers there has come a feeling of responsibility and better citizenship.

2. Agricultural adaptive research:

To support the aspirations for increase in agricultural production, new technology and modern farm inputs are required. Some of these can be introduced from other countries, some must be developed locally. Hence, adaptive research is of great importance in the course of rural development. Theodore W. Schultz, a prominent economist, has strongly emphasized the importance of indigenous research in the transformation of a traditional agriculture.[1]

Technological innovation has been a prime mover in Taiwan's agricultural development. According to a study made in 1968 by Dr. Y. T. Wang, Secretary-General of JCRR, two-thirds of the increase in Taiwan's agricultural production could be attributed to technological improvement, and one-third to the increased use of farm inputs.[2]

There are many agricultural research institutes in Taiwan. Most are governmental agencies carrying on both fundamental and applied research in crop production, forestry, fisheries, livestock and food processing. Professors at the agricultural colleges also conduct research in cooperation with the research institutes.

At the national level, there is a Botanical Institute in the Academia Sinica which deals primarily with basic scientific research. In the Province of Taiwan there are a Provincial Agricultural Research Institute and six district agricultural improvement stations. The institute is in charge of fundamental research and the stations are responsible for regional adaptive experiments. In addition, Taiwan also has research institutes for tobacco, sugar, tea, forestry, fisheries, livestock, sericulture, bananas and food processing.

Efforts of these institutes have produced good results. Ninety percent of Taiwan's hogs are hybrids. Incidence of livestock diseases has been reduced to an annual 0.5 percent. Many high-yielding varieties of rice, sugarcane, corn and sweet potatoes have been successfully developed. It is also because of the successful breeding of fast-maturing varieties that Taiwan's world-famous multiple-cropping system has become possible. The experiment results are generally extended to farmers for practice through demonstrations conducted by the district agricultural improvement stations and by the extension network of the farmers associations.

3. *Farmers organizations:*

Technological progress alone is not sufficient to solve the problems of rural areas. It also calls for organizational support. I have stated earlier that rural development should be a matter whose initiation rests with the government. More important, however, is the cooperation and participation of the rural people themselves. A successful rural development program should make those people realize that it is they that should be responsible for rural modernization and that they must be mainly on their own.

For farmers to participate actively in decision-making in rural development, organization is essential. This is supported by empirical studies. There have been cases in which the better the people were organized at the grass-roots level the more successfully rural development programs were carried out.[3]

Though academics have paid little attention to the organizational factor, political and administrative leaders in Taiwan have long recognized that rural organizations indeed make a difference. Rural organizations will not emerge spontaneously in response to economic policy or technological imperatives, but they are indispensable to the implementation of any rural development policy.

There are two different approaches toward the thinking about rural organizations, but both are unfortunately superficial. The paternalistic approach assumes that rural people are passive, incapable and uninterested in improving their lives. Consequently, everything must be done for them or organized in a top-down, bureaucratic manner.

An opposing view is the populistic approach which assumes that rural people are very much interested in change and completely capable of transforming their community if only the politicians and bureaucrats would leave them alone. In fact, neither of the two approaches is representative; they are two extremes. Rural people are neither as inert and ignorant as the first assumes nor as virtuous and wise as the second does. I believe rural people are definitely interested in change but less capable than the populistic model suggests. They need outside help.

In the developed countries where farm production is operated on a large scale and in a more specialized manner, farmers usually need a specific kind of service performed by a cooperative organization. Therefore, single-purpose organizations are popular. On the other hand, most farmers in the Asian developing countries are smallholders engaged in diversified farming. They need various kinds of assistance. Under such circumstances, the multipurpose organizations are considered to be more useful. This is the approach which we have been taken here in Taiwan.

There are four major systems of rural organizations in Taiwan, namely, farmers' associations, irrigation associations, fishermen's associations, and agricultural cooperatives.

a. Farmers' association:

The farmers' association is the most important organization in rural Taiwan. It is a multipurpose cooperative organization. Its main function is to help its members to solve their farming, financial and marketing problems. It also serves as a bridge between the farmers and the government.

The farmers' association in Taiwan is organized on three levels: Provincial, country and township. At present, there are a total of 294 farmers' associations, of which one is the provincial association, 20 are city associations, and 273 are township associations.

The township association is the key link in the whole system of farmers' association. It is in direct contact with the farmers and serves them in various ways.

In 1975, the total membership of farmers' associations was 853,637, of which 656,516 or 77 percent were regular members and 197,121 or 25 percent were associate members. The regular members are *bona fide* farmers who have the right to elect and to be elected to any office of the association. Associate members refer to those persons who are not engaged in farming full-time but reside in rural areas. They have no right to vote but can be elected to be a supervisor of the association.

As the name indicates, Taiwan farmers' association is an organization of the farmers. Its major services are extension, credit and marketing. About these services, I will have more to say later.

b. Irrigation association:

Since paddy rice is the most important food crop in Taiwan, water supply is an essential factor in farm production. To operate irrigation facilities and maintain orderly water distribution, a special organization has been formed.

The irrigation association is also a farmers' organization which handles the utilization of water resources. It also assists the government in planning and implementing new irrigation projects. Now there are a total of 16 irrigation associations. Each association has a chairman and is governed by an assembly of members representatives. The assembly determines policies and the chairman executes its decisions. A general manager is employed by each association to assist the chairman in handling routine work. The major functions of the irrigation association are: (1) provision and regulation of irrigation water, (2) collection of water fees, and (3) maintenance and construction of irrigation facilities.

c. Fishermen's association:

Like the farmers' association, the fishermen's association in Taiwan is also a cooperative organization. Its organizational pattern and functions are similar to those of the farmers' association. There are 69 fishermen's associations in Taiwan, with a total membership of over 180,000. The fishermen's associations derive their income from membership fees, service charges, contributions and government subsidies. With these incomes, they conduct activities to help and serve their members. These activities include improvement of fishing techniques, storage and marketing, and social welfare.

d. Fruit-marketing cooperatives:

The fruit marketing cooperative, as the name implies, is engaged in the marketing of fruits. Actually, its major business concerns bananas and oranges, the two most important fruit crops in Taiwan. Because of the geographical distribution of fruit production on this island, however, they differ in the main line of business. For instance, the Yilan, Taipei and Hsinchu cooperatives specialize in oranges, while the Taichung and Kaohsiung cooperatives deal with bananas.

Since the fruit marketing cooperatives are single-purpose organizations specializing in marketing fruits, only those who grow fruit are eligible for membership. In addition to marketing, these cooperative also serve their members in the supply of production inputs and credit and technical improvement.

4. Farm extension and education:

To develop new knowledge, ideas and practices in agriculture is not enough. They must be diffused and put to use in actual farming situations. This is usually done by means of agricultural extension, which serves as a bridge between agricultural research and field application of new farming techniques.

In Taiwan, agricultural extension services are provided by the farmers' associations. Since 1952, an agricultural extension section has been operating in each township farmers' association with an average of six extension agents.

Farm extension service is performed by the farmers' associations in close cooperation with the district agricultural improvement stations. To render effective assistance to the farmers, most of the activities conducted by the extension agents are channelled through the farming study groups organized at the farm level. The subjects studied by these groups include crop cultivation, farm machinery, application of fertilizers and agricultural chemicals.

Financing for farm extension comes mainly from the budgets of farmers' organizations and from the government in the form of subsidies. The service emphasizes educational work, through which new knowledge and skills are introduced to the farmers. Subsidies to the farmers are no longer important in carrying out the extension work which now relies mainly on audio-visual aids, reference materials, training courses, demonstrations and frequent contacts with the farmers through farm and home visits.

5. Credit for farmers:

Agricultural production has two outstanding characteristics: it is a biological process and is handled in small production units. Because of its biological nature, it is subject to various natural hazards. And because it is done by small farms individually, it cannot enjoy the advanages of large-scale production. These limitations greatly affect farmers' sources and means of obtaining capital, who often must turn to private money lenders.

Before the land reform program landlords were a major source of short-term loans in the rural areas. But such loans usually bore a high interest rate. After the land reform, landlords withdrew from the rural financial market. To fill up the gap the farmers association has stepped in. Taiwan farmers' associations have played an active role in providing loans for production and marketing purposes.

Farm credit service is performed by the credit department of the township farmers' associations. The department accepts savings deposits from and extends loan to its members. Most of the loans extended are for production purposes which include the purchase of farm inputs and the improvement of land and facilities. The principle of supervised credit has been applied to some loans. The main sources of lending funds of farmers' associations are the deposits of their members. Borrowings from the government and banks make up the seasonal shortages.

The maximum amount of a loan which a member may get is decided annually by the member representatives meeting. All individual members' credit standings are rated by a special committee and complete records are kept by the association for reference. Most of the loans made by the farmers' associations are without collateral, but are guaranteed by two or more persons. The Central Bank interest rates serve as the ceiling rates for the lending operations of the associations. Usually, the associations extend farm loans at rates lower than the ceiling rates.

Besides the credit provided by the farmers' associations, there are other financial institutions which do business with the rural people. The Taiwan Cooperative Bank, the Land Bank of Taiwan, and the Farmers' Bank of China are the major ones. They all have branch offices in the rural areas and provide both short-term and long-term farm loans. But farmers usually feel more at ease in discussing their financial problems with a staff member of the farmers' association than with a professional banker. Therefore, some of the loans provided by the banks are channelled through the farmers associations.

6. *Marketing of farm produce:*

In modern times, agricultural production requires inputs which cannot be produced on the farm. On the other hand, the process of production does not end with displaying farm products in the farmyard. It also involves moving the products from the farm to the market where they are sold. Since most farms are small in production scale, individual dealings with suppliers will certainly cost more. Group action can increase their bargaining power. So, farmers in Taiwan are encouraged to organize themselves to handle the business of buying and selling. This can also avoid exploitation by merchants, reduce costs and increase farm income.

In each township farmers' association in Taiwan, there is a marketing department which plays an active role in agricultural marketing.

Chemical fertilizer is an important production input here. Although fertilizer supply is monopolizecd by the Taiwan Provincial Food Bureau, the distribution of fertilizer is exclusively handled by the farmers' associations. About 1,000,000 metric tons of various kinds of fertilizers are distributed through the farmers' associations system annually.

In recent years, the farmers' associations have made considerable efforts to integrate their fertilizer business vertically. They now operate their own factories to produce feedstuffs and agricultural chemicals. In addition, consumer goods are also sold at competitive prices.

The marketing business is conducted by the marketing department in close cooperation with the credit and extension departments of the farmers associations. Loans are usually available for procurement of production requisites handled by the associations.

The associations handled about 30 percent of all the products produced by the farmers, the percentage varying according to the kind of product. As rice is partly under the control of the Food Bureau, the associations emphasize other farm products in their marketing operations.

Cooperative marketing of hogs, poultry and eggs is the most important marketing activity undertaken by the associations for their members. In major cities, the hogs supplied by the associations account for 35 percent of the total number marketed. Cooperative marketing of vegetables and fruits has also become an important business of the associations in recent years.

Of the 66 vegetable and livestock markets in Taiwan, 45 percent are operated by the farmers' associations and 50 percent are jointly operated by the associations and the local governments. These markets offer facilities and services for the farmers to sell their produce to their best advantage.

Since 1961, the farmers' associations have made substantial contributions to the export of farm products and of processed agricultural products. The supply of raw mushrooms and asparagus for canning and export is handled solely by the associations under a coordinated production and marketing plan.

By tradition, the marketing of bananas and oranges is handled by the Fruit Marketing Cooperatives. Each cooperative has its own marketing facilities and conducts collection, inspection, grading and packing. Most of the fruits they handle are for export. A pooling system is employed in making payments to the growers for the fruit marketed cooperatively.

7. *Construction of infrastructure:*

Infrastructure is sometimes referred to as social overhead capital. In general, it comprises all the basic constructions, like irrigation canals, highways, railways, and communications facilities. They are necessary for the development of an economy and constitute the framework and the overhead costs of the economy as a whole. An infrastructural project has three main features. First, if it is started it must be finished. Second, it usually has a long life and requires considerable maintenance. Third, it requires a long time for construction. Because of these, a large initial investment is definitely required. In this section, discussion will focus on two kinds of infrastructural constructions, which I think are most important.

a. Irrigation:

Since paddy rice is the major food crop here, water supply is an indispensable factor of production. Without reliable water supply, the potential of high-yielding varieties and chemical fertilizers cannot develop to the full. In Taiwan, the yield of first crop rice is always higher than the second. One of the reasons is the difference in water supply. The first crop is largely irrigated while the second crop, to some extent, depends on rainfall, which is generally plentiful but varies greatly from year to year. A regression analysis of the relationship between average rice yield and area irrigated for the periods 1922–38 and 1950–60 indicates a very high association between area irrigated and yield per hectare. [4] Similar situations are also observed in Thailand and the Philippines.[5]

Owing to the uneven distribution of rainfall, facilities for storing and dispensing water is of great importance in Taiwan's agricultural production.

To build a large irrigation network is not an easy task. But it has been one of our major objectives. Now we have irrigation system consisting of 1,200 structures for taking in water from the rivers, and 30,000 kilometers of canals, laterals and ditches. With this system, over 60 percent of Taiwan's farm land is irrigated.

Since irrigation projects requires large amounts of investment, government help is definitely needed. Here irrigation projects are financed with government subsidies, long-term and low-interest loans and the assessments collected from the farmers.

In addition to the construction of irrigation works, management of irrigation facilities is another important problem. In Taiwan, the responsibility for this falls on the irrigation associations as mentioned earlier.

b. Roads:

Roads are of prime importance in rural development because lack of such facilities always will make the transportation of inputs and marketing of farm products difficult and expensive. Any rural area under development should, therefore, have a good network of roads both within and from the area.

In the development of a rural area, three kinds of roads need to be built: farm roads, area roads and roads leading to major highways or railway stations. Farm roads are those which lead to or connect individual farms. In Taiwan, construction of farm roads is coordinated with irrigation and land consolidation programs. Attention has also been given to the movement of farm machinery and other transportation vehicles. Area roads and roads leading to the highways are usually county roads. Although these roads are not wide, they are mostly paved. Except for the mountain areas, it is rare in Taiwan to see a village without paved roads.

8. Community development:

In addition to the programs primarily designed to increase farm production and to improve institutional systems, attention has been paid to the improvement of the rural environment. This has been largely carried on under the community development program.

Community development is a comprehensive program. Its major purposes include beautification of environment, improvement of living conditions, and spiritual and ethical reconstruction. In early years, community development projects were part of the overall rural development program. Since 1968 a long-term community development plan has been formulated and put into operation. To coordinate the work, Community Development Committees have been created at various levels of government—from the Ministry of Interior down to the township offices.

According to the development plan, Taiwan is divided into 3,890 communities. Development priority is given to backward areas. The major projects undertaken so far include family planning, setting up of rural health stations, construction of waterworks, drainage ditches, community centers, children's play grounds, and adult education. Most of these projects are jointly financed with government funds and contributions from the local people.

I understand that community development will be a panel subject for this seminar. I am sure you will hear more about this program later. So I will not elaborate here.

4. Conclusion

The above mentioned strategies by no means cover all the measures we have taken to develop our rural areas. But they are the measures that have contributed most to Taiwan's rural development. Although I have discussed these measures separately, they are all an integral part of Taiwan's overall development program. Some of them are closely related and dependent upon one another. In implementation, they are also well coordinated.

I might reduce Taiwan's rural development efforts to three steps—first, to give farmers an incentive to produce more; second, to provide them with modern farm inputs; and third, to encourage them to participate in business and community activities which are intimately related to their lives.

Taiwan's rural development program has been carried on not without problems. In fact, since the late 1960s, rapid industrial growth has left agriculture behind. The growth rate of agricultural production has slowed down, and farmers' income has become relatively low. In view of this situation, a new agricultural development program has been put into effect. For this program special government funds have been made available. Emphasis is placed on the improvement of rural infrastructure, farm mechanization, resource development and improvement of agricultural marketing. Its ultimate aim is to raise farm labor productivity and increase farm income.

While we are looking forward to a more productive agriculture and more prosperous rural sector, we are also prepared to meet new and tough problems in the future.

I thank you for your attention and patience.

Footnotes:

(1) Schultz, Theodore W.	*Transforming Traditional Agriculture* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1964) pp. 146-153
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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THROUGH SAEMAUL MOVEMENT IN KOREA

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1. Introduction

Community development project might be described as an action planning for improving the standard of living and social welfare of the people in a community through effective cooperative utilize of all available resources. Every community has a different historic, social, and economic backgrounds which must be considered in project development. As a matter of fact, there is no unified or optimized community development project for all villages, regions or countries. In view of this, the community development project is based on a practical or behavioral philosophy rather than profound academic theory. A community development project, as a practical program, needs to be adjusted flexibly to the conditions or characteristics of the community, based on previous experiences.

It is therefore important to analyze or evaluate all experiences, whatever successful or not, in a scientific way for developing or conducting a community project. Based on the results of the evaluation we can develop some strategies for successful management of community projects according to the conditions of the region.

In view of this, I am going to explain the "Saemaul" movement which was recently applied to community development project in Korea. It will be of interest to review what this movement is, and what the factors affecting this movement are, and how we are improving it according to the plan.

2. Historical Review of Community Development Project in Korea

A. Rural Village and Development Projects in the Past

Korea has a long history in cooperative efforts in rural areas as means of saving money and labor through the organization of "*Gae*" and "*Hyang-Yak*." Of course, these were not concerned the improvement of the whole village or society, but only served to link activities within a limited area and people.

The modernized rural development project was initiated in 1957 through the initiation of Agricultural Extension Services and Community Development projects as additional functions of the Office of Rural Development.

From the beginning, regional demonstration plots were set up at many places for widely disseminating new technologies or farming practices. Extension workers did their best to increase farmer's understanding about the benefits of new technology. However, the project had little effect because of the following reasons.

1) Poverty in Rural Community

Most farmers in the rural area had been faced with poverty conditions for many decades. Since Korean War in 1950, the farmers' living condition was worse than ever before. Food shortage became more of serious social problem than an economic one, particularly in the months before spring barley harvest when farmers did not have any rice left from the fall harvest.

2) Resignation for Improving by Farmers

Most farmers felt that, since their poverty condition was their fate, they could not correct this undesirable situation by themselves. Farmers did not have the incentive or courage to improve their situation until the 1950's. Under these circumstances, no one tried to listen to what extension workers were telling about improved practices to increase crop yield and income.

3) Lack of Policies for Rural Development

Authorities could not strongly implement integrated policies or programs. Although the Office of Rural Development had undertaken extension services as one of its functions, the number of workers and budget were too small for successful implementation.

B. Motivation of Rural Development

Since 1961, the government has been implementing the Economic Development Plans for a balanced and rapid growth among industries. The last year of the Third Five-Year Economic Development plan is 1976, and this plan is expected to be continued.

In the First Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1961 to 1966), the principal or basic target was the foundation of a self-help national economy through removing the vicious social and economic circles. During this five-year period, the rate of economic growth was 8.5% per annum, and average per capita income increased from 94 to 131 dollars.

The aim of the Second Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1967–71) was to modernize the structure of all industries and to continue to meet the objectives set in the previous plan period. During this period, the rate of economic growth was 11.4% per annum, and average per capita income increased from 131 to 253 dollars.

While there had been rapid industrial growth through the first two terms of Five-Year Economic Development Plans, advances in agriculture, forestry and fisheries remained far below those in the industrial sector. As a result, the total farm population has decreased since 1969, while urban population has swelled at a rapid rate.

In order to strongly support agricultural sector, the Third Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1972–1976) included special programs related to improving the agricultural economy in addition to those programs supporting heavy chemical industry and increased exports in all commodities. Owing to the governmental support program for the agricultural sector, the agricultural growth rate has increased at 4.5%

average per annum over the last 10 years.

Throughout the years of the Economic Development Plan, the national economy was founded on the basis of industrialization and modernization. It has also helped to give incentive to farmers for positive participation in rural development and the Saemaul movement. In view of this, ever a little increase in income may have provided a motive for attaining a higher standard of living.

3. Saemaul Movement as the First Priority of the Governmental Action Program

A. Beginning of Saemaul Movement (1970)

While the Third 5-year Economic Development Plan was still under preparation in 1970, President Chung Hee Park of the Republic of Korea, insisted on the implem entation of Saemaul movement as a strategy for community development and indicated the possible direction and details of what should be done.

The target of the movement was roughly as follows; "even the villages in the rural area do not have the same living standard: Some are wealthy and others are poor. In the wealthy villages, farmers work diligently, cooperatively, and friendly with their capable village leaders so that they can be better off and remodel their practices or living environment. In rural development, therefore, it is most important to have an enthusiastic leader and farmers who are working together with him in a cooperative spirit for self-help. From this point of view, I would like to request all the relevant institutions to prepare practical action programs related to the Saemaul movement and try to pursue them cooperatively."

By request of President Park, this has become a part of the Third Five-Year Economic Plan and has provided a motivating force behind this movement, thereafter.

B. Trial Period of Saemaul Movement (1971)

The government distributed 335 bags of cement to each of 33,000 rural villages, nation-wide. This was to be used mainly in the off-season, October, 1970 through March, 1971 as part of remodeling program which included environmental, physical and social components.

In this way physical materials were provided for the movement without any suggestion of change and indication as to use. The effective use of the cement was to be decided on by the village people through discussion among themselves. The result of this subsidy program was very successful in terms of the farmers' endeavor to willingly use this cement effectively. Farmers have slowly recognized what benefits can be obtained from the cooperative group action. They also voluntarily decided to remove some of prevailing bad practices such as gambling or heavy drinking.

Through the test program, which was initiated in 1971, we have learned the following lessons:

1) Good leaders should be identified at the village level and then be encouraged by a leading institution to provide the necessary leadership.
2) Villagers should willingly and cooperatively participate in this program of self-help.
3) The government should support the program at the first stage with visual materials rather than merely emphasizing cooperative action.

C. Extensive Activities of the Saemaul Movement (1972)

Based on the experience of the previous year, the government paid special attention to recruit capable and enthusiastic leaders from the village level for the movement.

In addition to this, the government provided 500 bags of cement and one metric ton of steelbars to each of 16,600 out of a total of 34,665 villages, choice of these villages was based on degree of success in 1971. Such unequal support stimulated other neighboring villages to have effective group action programs. Thus, 6,108 additional villages voluntarily participated in the Saemaul movement, besides those that obtained government support. In order to strengthen farmers' decision-making ability through intervillage discussions, the government did not suggest how the material should be used.

In the process of performing the action program in 1972, we identified questions relating to the Saemaul movement.

1) How can we incorporate the Community Development Projects into the Saemaul movement on a yearly basis, and what is the best way of integrating these two programs at the village level?
2) How can we make facilitate greater participation in the movement than before, and what kinds of activities are necessary to improve the farmers' living environment.
3) How can all of the relevant governmental authorities cooperate for the systematic and successful implementation of the movement.

D. Establishment of the Grounds of Saemaul Movement (1973)

1) Directing the Saemaul Project.

Three strategies have been adopted for the development of the movement at the village level: (1) the movement should be started with easily accomplished projects related to improving living conditions (2) villagers should enhance the spiritual development through cooperative activities, and (3) the movement should consider the increased income for the villagers.

2) Guiding Spirit and Process of Community Development Project

giving motives → minimum support of the government

↓

voluntary participation → the villagers' organization

↓

considering the methods of performance → establishing the long and short-term development plans

↓

voluntary coopeative efforts → performing the projects cooperatively

↓

self-confidence and aspiration → completion of the projects

According to the established direction and procedure of the community development project, 22,908 villages (16,000 government supported villages and 6,108 non-supported villages), which comprise most of the nations villages participated to some degree in the movement.

Throughout the movement in 1973, we experienced the following:

(a) A project was selected in each village which, when implemented, was expected to increase farm income. This was then conducted cooperatively by villagers.

(b) Special training was needed for the village leaders in order to carry out the movement effectively and sincerely.

(c) Various policies and supervision by different institutions were needed to pursue these projects without undue expense or difficulty.

Based on the degree of success of the Saemaul movement, the government classified all villages into three groups; preliminary villages, villages at the self-help stage, and villages at the self-support stage.

The government set up different programs for different stages of the movement and for different conditions of the villages, and it then supported the villages accordingly. For the preliminary villages, the government tended to emphasize mental aspects of cooperation through simple group activities. When villagers recognized the benefits of cooperation, the government provided some physical material for realizing changes in traditional practices through cooperation (self-help stage). Then the government also helped villages at the self-support stage to increase their income. From the standpoint of the number of villages participating in the program, it can be said that the Saemaul movement has influenced all villages, and it is becoming a program of all the people in Korea.

E. Development of Saemaul Movement (1974)

On the basis of the experiences gained from previous years, the government's main activities were concentrated on projects related to income increase, training of village leaders, and Saemaul movement in urban areas. To reacn these targets successfully, the government organized an agency which is called the Central Committee of Saemaul Movement. It consists of all Vice Ministers and helps to make the policies for the movement.

F. Continuation of Saemaul Movement (1975-76)

The government intends not only to continue remodeling both rural and urban areas, but also it is considering real benefit by increasing income projects. For this reasons, the Saemaul movement is becoming an economic activity as well as a means of changing the way of living and thinking. Although the Saemaul movement initially started at the village level, its scope is expanding, both geographically and economically beyond the village confines.

4. Demonstrative Programs for Increasing Saemaul Income

A. Contents of Demonstrative Programs

In 1972, by which time Saemaul movement was appropriately established and widely diffused, the government set a goal of attaining a $1,000 per capita GNP and $10 billion of exports by 1980.

From 1973 to 1979, the Office of Rural Development undertook the 7 year demonstrative programs for Community Development to achieve national economic objectives early and hence to successfully lead the Saemaul movement. A total 154 demonstrative villages were selected in 1972 for these demonstrative programs, of which 138 were self-support villages and 16 were both preliminary and self-help villages (1 self-help and 1 preliminary village were selected from each province and self-support village was selected from each county).

In selecting demonstrative villages, the following were considered.

1) Economic, social and culture level was similar to average county level
2) Environmental development was related directly to income increase.
3) Government's policies could be adopted as a priority
4) Degree of inhabitant's cooperation was high

To effectively develop these villages selected by using the above criteria the following strategies and methods of program development were implemented:

1) Development strategies of demonstrative villages were:
    (a) Organizing all farmers with Saemaul leader taking a leading role in the project
    (b) Thoroughly educating all villagers about new technology for farming practices
    (c) Improving income structure through maximizing all available resources
2) Methods used in carrying out the project were:
    (a) Assigning an extension worker who is well educated in farming and extension to the demonstrative village to guide the farmers by directly working with them.
    (b) After the resident extension worker surveyed overall production resources in the village, the individual farm plan and development programs of the village were set and implemented with cooperation between the extension worker and villagers
    (c) Administrative subsidies, new farming practices and institutional credits were provided to demonstrative villages.
    (d) A group of technical experts, from Office of Rural Development and Provincial ORD's sent to the villages for consultation once a while.

After selecting the demonstrative villages and setting-up strategies and methods for performing the project, resident extension workers were selected and trained intensively before they were assigned to demonstrative villages. The extension worker, residing the demonstrative village, was aided by the expert group of extension workers.

An exhibition plot was made in each village as an educational purpose for the newly adopted technologies. The extension worker taught the villagers to adopt new farming practices at night, looked over their farming results, and discussed the village development program with them. All of the extension workers diligently worked with pride as pioneers on an important mission of the Saemaul movement.

B. The Effects of Demonstrative Program

As the result of the demonstrative program, income of the village increased considerably as shown in the following table.

Since the start of the project in 1973, village income has increased about 40% every year and the income in 1975 was about 2.5 times larger than that of 1972. Off-

Average Farm Household Income by Year

Year Item	Standard year ('72) (A)	1973	1974	1975 (B)	Ratio (B/A)
Farm household Income	914	1,207	1,666	2,330	254.9%
Farm Income	770	986	1,342	1,893	245.8
Off-farm Income	144	221	324	487	303.5

farm income more than trebled, which favorably implies an improved income structure to the current small size of land cultivated.

At the end of 1975, 25 pilot villages, one-sixth of 154 pilot villages, have raised their income above $2,800 level. These results suggest that if community development as overall development project is extended to farmers and then practiced effectively, desirable results can be expected.

5. The Effects and Problems to be Considered in Saemaul Movement

Within several years since Saemaul movement was initiated in Korea, the rural society has been awakened from a long, dark period of under-development in agricultural sector. This is because a spiritual enlightenment was realized along with the physical development and income increase. In the future, therefore, there is a strong possibility of perpetual development in Korean agriculture.

A. The effects of Saemaul movement

1) In spiritual aspects

(a) Reform of conscious structure

As a result of the Saemaul movement, the rural society, which was long stagnated by poverty and depression, was changed into a society with self-confidence and a strong feeling that "We can do" and "We can achieve a better life." This has rooted into the farmer's consciousness, and a new productive environment has been established using improved farming practices.

(b) Fostering the spirit of diligence and self-help

Farmers now work more diligently through cooperative activities, and they have become accustomed to perform their project in a cooperative spirit on their own.

(c) Elevation of democratic spirit

The villagers recognized the necessity for an elected superior leader in the village, and they were trained in democratic disciplines through the election of their leaders.

(d) Construction of national union structure

The whole range of Korean people including wealthy and poor people, urban and rural people are bound together in a national union structure through the Saemaul movement.

(e) Progress in the living condition and participation of women

Through Saemaul movement, women in rural society participated actively in the various activities in getting rid of all traditional wrong-doings in rural society such as gambling, superstition, extravagance and luxury. This indicates that there is also active woman leadership in many villages. They played an important role in improving the level of their living by saving, simplifying the wedding ceremonies and funeral services, and wearing work clothes.

2) Physical Development Aspects

(a) Improvement of environment

Korean rural society has been changed by roof improvement, expansion of farm roads, water-supply and electrification.

(b) Increased production and income

The average farm income has increased from $500 in 1970 to $1,860 in 1975 through the adoption of high yielding rice varieties, cooperative farming, utilization of idle labor forces, and gradual improvement of marketing structure.

B. Problems to be considered

1) Social aspects

(a) Unconcern of some wealthy people
(b) Too many services of village leaders without pay
(c) Excessive competition between villages and heavy economic burdens to the small size of farmers
(d) Lack of rural labor on account of expansion of productive programs

2) Production and income aspects

(a) Environmental improvement is simple in terms of accomplishment and has a clear result, while the increasing income is influenced by many complicated factors and natural constraints, and can not have an immediate effect.
(b) In the environmental project, cooperative works can be easily implemented because the project has a benefit for all. But in the income increasing project, there should be considered a proportional allotment of inputs and returns because the project directly related with individual benefit.
(c) Income increasing project should be concerned the market for the products as well as increasing production efforts.
(d) To increase farm income with a given farm resources, the proportion of off-farm income should be raised in the future.
(e) Because farm size is very small in Korea, farm mechanization is required to increase income and a portion of the rural population must change their employment by entering industrial sector.

6. Conclusion

We have discussed in general terms the community development in Korea through Saemaul movement. We can now summarize the key points leading to successful community development:

1) Strong leadership and concentrated policy of the government.
2) Mental enlightenment of the people, improvement of techniques, and development of potential capability by successive discipline and education.
3) Voluntary participation of inhabitants and capable leaders in the regional basis.
4) Choice of suitable project to the regional conditions and pursue it effectively.

5) Adoption of new farming technologies for increasing farm production and income.
6) All experiences in undertaking projects has applied appropriately to other development projects.

In community development which is carried out in the real world, the uniform methods can not be universally adopted because situations differ over regions and time. Therefore, various methods should be appraised and analyzed. The results should be utilized in properly developing the projects.

Mr. Dong showed some slides on the subject of "SAEMAUL UNDONG",

THE DYNAMICS OF RURAL COMMUNITY GROWTH

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Sixty years ago, the Appalachian region of the United States was experiencing an enormous boom of rural development and urbanization as a result of coal mining. The new towns were the nation's pride. Farming was widely abandoned in the region. Fifty years ago, the boom had evaporated and the towns began to deteriorate.Today the region is still profoundly depressed, yet it has never returned to agriculture.

Energy booms are now getting under way in the Northern Great Plains and Alaska. The central thrust of my work with regional bodies serving these areas is to help to prevent them from becoming our next Appalachia.

In the rural areas I have studied, rural community expansion has most often occurred in sudden spurts touched off by some outside event such as a mining or energy conversion project, a military installation or a change in the transportation system, which was many times the magnitude of our typical "Rural Development" projects as such. The community impacts of these events are generally either ignored in my country, or viewed narrowly as problems of short-term infrastructure expansion. It is my view that in fact sudden growth of a rural community sends out waves of influences in time and space, many of them negative, which can take years or decades to overcome.

Rapid community growth and decline are often treated as entirely separate problems. Yet it seems to me they are so closely interconnected that they might better be viewed as a single problem, that of uneven or unstable growth. Simplistically, this is often referred to as the "Boom and Bust" phenomenon. As a process in time, "Boom" often leads to "Bust" through overexpansion of population and capital facilities, overspecialization of the local economy, and destructive exploitation of resources that might otherwise provide a fall-back position. As a process in space, one rural community's growth contributes often to the decline of others around it through labor relocation, the diffusion of urban values and life styles, the competition for market or service areas and the monopolization of future region-serving improvements. These all may be valuable instruments of social progress, of course, but they are not free of cost, and the burdens are unevenly distributed.

The process of community economic adjustment involves a mutually interdependent set of changes in the size and structure of the community's economy, labor force and population. One function of rural development policy might be to enable the population, labor force, private service industries, public service systems and housing markets of entire communities to gracefully expand, level off or contract in close sympathy with the rise and fall, or entry and departure, of major exporting industries.

Case studies of recent and historical experiences with local development in remote areas have shown that there are definite if imprecisely known limits to the rate at which such adjustments can occur spontaneously as a result of private investment, unaided migration, and routine public service programs. They might be thought of as analogues to the elastic limit of materials. Pressed beyond those limits, the proportional adjustment mechanisms break down, and unstable responses follow.

Under accelerated local growth due to a major natural resource development project, the most common case in the Old West and Alaska currently, there has typically been a rapid accommodation of the labor supply by wage increases, followed by increased in-migration rates. The skill mix of the incoming workers has been somewhat mismatched with local demands, leading to some increased structural unemployment and temporary labor shortages in certain crafts or trades, but these problems tended to pass quickly because of rapid population turnover. A more persistent labor supply problem has been the inability of such places to attract and hold adequate professional workers in health, education and other fields. This may be due in part to the relatively smaller wage advantage offered such workers, and in part also to a greater value they may place upon the environmental amenities and services found lacking in a remote boom-town.

Major capital facilities of a community include housing, schools, streets, water supply, sewerage, public buildings, and the like. There is typically a lag of one or more years between the onset of rapid local population growth and the financial and administrative expansions necessary to achieve a commensurately higher rate of capital facilities expansion. The work is often done in a rush and poorly planned, leading to high maintenance costs and an environment which is unattractive for future private development. More importantly there is a tendency to underinvest in capital facilities because of uncertainty as to the community's economic future.

A third, often neglected problem of the expansion phase is the transformation of the local economy into a virtual one-industry community. Farms and fisheries are abandoned and skills are not passed on to the young. The community then becomes highly vulnerable to seasonal or cyclic local swings in that industry, or to an eventual cessation of growth. Little has been done towards promoting diversification of boomtown economies while still on the upswing, and yet this climate for growth might actually prove far more favorable than in already "depressed" areas.

As I have emphasized in my experience, no community can expand at an accelerating rate forever. The inevitable downturn often entails adjustment problems at least as serious as those of accelerated growth. These may be viewed broadly as the problem of "overshoot" growth and the problems of eventual stability or decline.

"Overshoot" growth is the continued expansion of the labor force and physical infrastructure of a boom community beyond what is required after the basic source of boom growth has slowed or stopped. In the case of large capital-intensive projects the initial construction force will be larger than permanent employment at the facility, necessitating temporary excess expansion. Even where basic employment only levels off, overshoot is likely because of a lag in the flow of information about community needs through the economic and political systems. Wages remain high and unemployment information is not widely or quickly distributed, so that migrants continue to be attracted to the area. Housing and commercial facilities which take months or years to develop are in various stages of completion when the market begins to soften; by the time they are completed it is frequently overbuilt. Public facilities expansions tend to have an even longer lag in planning, approval, funding and construction, and even in the planning stages the information used may not be current. These mechanisms combine with a perfectly natural human reluctance to recognize indicators that a boom is flagging to make "overshoot" a recurrent problem.

The problems of continued stability or decline are not usually recognized as "adjustment" problems in the sense of responding to an abrupt impetus from outside, but they are in many ways part of the same cycle set off by earlier rapid expansion. Briefly, the problems include a demographic wave which passes through the population age distribution, requiring expansion of successively higher grades in the school system and exerting supply pressure on the labor force about 20 years after the boom due to the fertility of the earlier migrants. They also include a decreasing population mobility, stagnating economy, deteriorating service sector and high vulnerability to further economic disruptions.

The influences of community development, as we know, reach out rapidly to surrounding communities. There is migration, especially of the young, to the development sites and an increasing differentiation of the system of settlements, both in size and especially in ways of life. Paradoxically, as the development sites become more urbanized and integrated with the national and world economics, the remaining villages may become more isolated as they lose touch with their younger, more cosmopolitan people. The differentiation of places is self-reinforoing because both private investment and public service systems like schools and airports tend to find the more developed sites preferable. The resulting economics may take a long time to reach the less mobile people in backwater areas, whereas the burdens reach them right away.

The dynamics of rural community growth are seldom anticipated or controlled, at least in American practice. I would like to propose six elements which can contribute to a more dynamic rural development policy, one which would better recognize and cope with the problems of uneven growth. These are:

(1) Improved regional planning, coordination and public information on factors affecting rural growth.

(2) Close monitoring of the more transitory aspects of local economic conditions, notably labor surplus and poverty conditions.

(3) Growth management and land use coordination at a regional scale, with emphasis on damping of over-shoot growth of population.

(4) Relocation assistance, with careful attention to timing and needed skills.

(5) Capital facilities programming, aimed at reducing the lag in both upward and downward adjustments of local growth rates.

(6) Community and programmes involvement in the decision process, aimed at a more sensitive definition of programs and opportunities, "diagnosis from within" as well as from without."

This last point relates to my position here. I am glad to share my experience and opinions with you, and look forward to hearing your own. But is for you and your country to assess their usefulness to your own situation. I thank you sincerely, and hope you will be candid in your responses.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL AREAS OF THE RUPUBLIC OF CHINA

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1. Foreword

The social policy currently in force in the Republic of China bears the official title "Social Policy at the Current Stage of the *Ming Sheng* (the People's Livelihood) Principle". It was promulgated by the Executive Yuan (the Cabinet) on April 8, 1965 in line with a plan which the ruling *Kuomintang* (the Nationalist Party) had adopted at the Second Plenary Meeting of its Ninth Central Committee for stepped-up social welfare measures to improve the livelihood of the people. The policy sets forth community development as one of seven major measures of social welfare and stipulates that "community development shall be the major means for expediting *Ming Sheng* reconstruction". Therefore, community development in the Republic of China has a two-fold mission to fulfill: (1) As a goal of the social policy, it must accomplish the tasks of *Ming Sheng* reconstruction, and (2) as a method of social work, it must motivate the inhabitants so as to bring out their spirit of self-rule and initiative to coordinate government measures in developing communities that conform to the ideals of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People and comply with the needs of the people's livelihood and national defense.

Before 1966 the Taiwan Provincial Government had played largely a supporting role in basic-level *Ming Sheng* reconstruction. After promulgation of the current social policy, the provincial government renamed the local reconstruction as community development and has since actively undertaken community development projects to improve environmental sanitation for the various countries and municipalities under its jurisdiction.

At the central level, the Ministry of the Interior formulated an "Outline for Community Development Work" with the aim of coordinating all efforts in the cause of community development. This outline was put into force by a decree of the Executive Yuan on May 10, 1968. It defines the objectives of community development as: "In planned steps, the manpower, material and financial power in the community will be mobilized to coordinate with the administrative programs and financial support of the various government departments for advancing the community's living conditions, raising production efficiency of its inhabitants and improving the environment. The final goal is a new society based upon the *Ming Sheng* Principle." The outline provides for implementation to begin with pilot community development projects in backward areas, at selected points which will be linked together to form the base for all-round development at the final stage. Coordination and planning is the responsibility of "community development committees" created at the various levels of government —from the Ministry of the Interior at the central to provincial (or special municipality) governments, to county (or municipal) governments to township and village offices. The social administrative units at the various levels of government are in charge of implementation. Community service centers created at the various communities function as operational organs. These are run by boards of directors, each of which consists of from 9 to 11 members elected from among the heads of households in the community. The boards of directors coordinate support and assistance rendered by government, civic and private organizations and carry out the actual work of community development. The work involved is generally grouped under three main categories: public works reconstruction, production and welfare reconstruction and spiritual and ethical reconstruction.

2. The Present State of Community Development in Rural Areas

Community development in the Republic of China is being carried out as planned. The Taiwan Provincial Government promulgated in September, 1968, an "Eight-Year Community Development Plan in Taiwan Province". Under this plan, the province was divided into 4,893 communities on the basis of natural conditions and the common requirements of the inhabitants.

Later, it's modified as a ten-year development plan, and the province was divided into 3,890 communities. The goals of community development in rural areas are:

1. To accomplish the basic reconstruction of the community with a view to eliminating uncleanliness and disorderliness and to beautifying the environment.
2. To carry out the reconstruction of production and welfare to get rid of poverty and improve the people's livelihood.
3. To promote spiritual and ethical reconstruction in order to improve public morals.

The key points in the implementation of community development in rural areas are:

1. The people of the community play the key role. Through their participation and initiative, all resources and efforts are pooled for community development. Government agencies concerned at all levels render assistance, both technical and financial, and moral encouragement.
2. Priority is given to slums and other backward areas.
3. Basic construction, welfare and moral ethics improvements will be carried out in line with government administrative measures.
4. Community development starts with investigation, research and training. Various seminars are held to train community workers, uplift techniques and develop efficiency.
5. Demonstrations and observation visits should be made at the provincial, municipal and county levels to make improvement possible.
6. Development work will be carried out on a competitive basis to stimulate the morale of the people.

Division of communities is carried out in accordance with natural and the common needs of the people, mostly conditions in conformity with administrative areas such as *Li* and village. Each *Li* or village can be divided into two communities, or one

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community includes more than two *Lis* or villages.

Community construction should be carried out in accordance with investigation results, which must be analyzed in detail. Equal emphasis must be placed on basic engineering construction (public works reconstruction), welfare, and moral ethics. Meanwhile attention should be paid to road construction and flood control.

1. Basic engineering construction:
   (1) Improvement of community environment:
      a. To construct sewers;
      b. To pave the lanes or alleys with cement or asphalt;
      c. To construct water supply facilities, including the digging of deep as well as shallow wells;
      d. To build rest rooms, bathhouses, garbage cans and set up garbage collection service;
      e. To improve household sanitation such as lighting, ventilation, cement floor, kitchen, etc.;
      f. To put up enclosing wall, plant trees and flowers;
      g. To better domestic animal pens and manure treatment; and
      h. To maintain environmental sanitation.
   (2) Traffic and road improvement:
      a. To construct or widen community roads and, if necessary, to construct new roads;
      b. To install traffic signals; and
      c. To improve road maintenance and traffic regulation.
   (3) Improvement of flood-control installations:
      a. To construct dams and embarkments;
      b. To build and maintain flood-control ways;
      c. To pile up rocks along river banks; and
      d. To eliminate snags in rivers.
2. Production and welfare reconstruction:
   (1) To improve farming techniques, agricultural products and the control of crop pests.
   (2) To strengthen soil conservation and utilization.
   (3) To promote family sideline work, set up cooperative enterprises and improve the marketing of finished products.
   (4) To improve domestic animal farming and the planting of fruit trees.
   (5) To construct drying grounds surfaced with concrete, build forage soils and methane tanks.
   (6) To hold various healthful activities for the children, the youth and the women and to help tend the children and sewing.
   (7) To promote family planning as well as children's health.
   (8) To establish day nurseries.
   (9) To help build dwelling houses for the farmers, and to improve housing in slums.
   (10) To hold vocational training and reduce unemployment.
   (11) To strengthen relief work and medical care for the poor as well as disaster victims.

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3. Moral ethics reconstruction:
   (1) To build community centers.
   (2) To set up recreation parks.
   (3) To establish community libraries and reading rooms.
   (4) To construct small-size playgrounds.
   (5) To build small-size amusement parks.
   (6) To implement the "Code of Morals for the People".
   (7) To implement the "Citizens Etiquette".
   (8) To cite the good men and the good deeds, to pay tribute to the olders and the virtuous, and to promote filial piety.
   (9) To provide supplementary education for the people.
   (10) To promote sports, recreation and cultural activities.
   (11) To hold concerts, and stage Chinese acrobatics and Chinese folk dancing activities.
   (12) To strengthen the people's basic organizations and their activities such as residents' meetings, meetings for honoring the elders, women's gatherings, 4-H Club, and other community activities.
   (13) To cultivate public spirit among the inhabitants.
   (14) To develop the spirit of mutual help & protection.

3. Review and Suggestions for Improvement

Community development in the Republic of China has scored real success in the improvement of the people's livelihood and in basic-level reconstruction. Below is a review of the development effort:

1. Successes

a. Community development stresses public works reconstruction and the improvement of environmental sanitation. Hence the effort has given a new look to the communities. New and renovated roads and the elimination of filth and confusion pave the way for progress in backward areas. New public facilities—such as community centers, small parks, sports grounds, and nurseries—provide the inhabitants with appropriate places in which to rest, to meet and to play. This has brought about remarkable results in the cultivation of a healthy and public-spirited citizenry.

b. Direct participation in local reconstruction undertakings—with contributions of money or labor or by taking part in discussions and planning—enables the people to realize the importance of collective endeavors and pooled efforts. This has brought about a greater self-rule spirit.

c. As public works are built with government subsidies and with free labor contributed by the people, economy of funds is achieved as well as a recognition on the part of the people that man's two hands hold immense power of creation.

d. The welfare and livelihood of the people are accorded increasing importance. The promotion of family sidelines, guidance in production skills, welfare of children, and relief and medical services for the poor have been stepped up in the course of community development.

e. The customs and traits of life have been improved. There are better cooperation, enthusiasm for public affairs, austerity at religious festivals, savings for community projects, better household sanitation and sanitary habits.

f. Leadership and organization at the local level have been strengthened. Responding to the call for service for one's community, local leaders, retired servicemen and public functionaries actively join community boards of directors. This interest in community well-being has strengthened community leadership and local organization.

g. The people's allegiance to the government has grown stronger. This comes as a result of a better understanding of the government's policies and measures—an understanding gained from direct participation in the work of community development.

2. *Failures*:

(1) Uniformity in planning and disregard for practical local needs have resulted in extravagance and waste in public works construction. Examples are the public toilets and bathhouses and the brick or cement enclosures, which are indiscriminately provided for in government-designed community projects. Since all houses in Taiwan (except slum and squatter houses) are equipped with toilets and baths, public toilets and baths would seem unnecessary and impractical. So would the brick and cement enclosures, which as required in government-designed projects serve no practical purposes and are a waste.

(2) Inadequate coordination

a. Public works in rural communities would require as much as two million dollars in Taiwan currency. Therefore, the support and coordination of business enterprises is vital to the continued development of communities. For this reason, increase of production and the organization of production and consumers' cooperatives must be promoted in the community. But relevant laws and regulations now in force restrict establishment of cooperatives in rural communities.

b. Lack of coordination between civil affairs and social administrative units in local governments has led to the dispute over which should be responsible for community development matters. As community development is, in a broad sense, local self-government and a measure of social welfare, there should be close collaboration between the two government agencies as far as community development is concerned.

(3) Over-emphasis on public works at the initial stage of the community development program has resulted in neglect of welfare and spiritual reconstruction. Besides, surveys of manpower, financial and natural resources are too inadequate to permit long-range planning and effective use of these resources in community development.

(4) Full-time community development workers are not in adequate numbers to effectively fulfill development requirements. This is also true of social workers at basic-level village or township offices. Full-time development and social workers are needed to speed up community development.

3. *Suggestions for improvement*:

(1) Stronger coordination and cooperation among administrative agencies on community development:

a. The community is a basic social organization: Successful community development results in a sound social foundation for local self-government. Therefore, except in extraordinary situations, the division of communities should be adapted to the demarcation of *li* (an administrative unit ranking third upward from the basic household unit). A community may include two *li* or vice versa. Either case is feasible and practicable. But if a community is to encompass more than two *li*, or if a *li* should include more than two communities, the administrative division should be rearranged. The *li* chief should also be a *de facto* member of the community board of directors.

b. As the work of community development involves various departments of government, the relationships between related government agencies should be well coordinated.

(2) A long-range program for community development is necessary. It should coordinate with government administration and truly meet the needs of the community. It should be based on extensive surveys and research. Besides maintenance of the established public works, the program should also provide for step-by-step build-up of production, welfare and ethical reconstruction as well as promotion of public morals.

(3) Leadership and personnel:

a. Each community should have a staff of full-time workers. They should be recruited locally and given specialized training by the community board of directors.

Every village or township office should have a full-time community development or social work expert on its staff to render services in technical designing and supervision. He will evaluate development work and take steps to meet the needs of development in the communities under his change.

b. Government citations or other forms of awards should be given to community directors and members of the local gentry who have served enthusiastically and meritoriously in the cause of community development.

(4) Development work should be emphasized differently in rural and urban communities. This is necessitated by the differences in community environs and such factors as land price and living standards. In urban communities public works projects are understandably a more difficult problem than those in rural communities. Such projects in urban areas seem to rely necessarily on the reconstruction of new urban lands and the renovation of old lands, or on the dismantling of slums and squatter houses for new housing projects. These are administrative measures beyond the scope of community development. Squatter houses are a major obstacle to urban community development in Taiwan. In urban community development, therefore, the initial step should be an effective solution to the problem of squatter houses and active implementation of urban planning.

(5) The success of community development depends upon well-planned mobilization of community manpower, material and financial resources to coordinate with the administrative programs of the various government departments. In other words, the implementation of the various government administrative programs should produce results in the communities and be reflected in the life of every household and in the moral character of each and every citizen. Therefore, community development is the most basic, most effective, and most thorough means of implementing government programs. In the cause of building an administration that is both scientific and economical, a million dollars spent on community development may well mean a billion dollars saved for the administrative organs at the higher levels. For this reason, the governments at various levels should make generous appropriations of subsidy funds for community development. This will serve the good purpose of boosting the people's enthusiasm for and interest in the development of their own communities.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

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In his paper entitled "Community Development in Rural Areas of the Republic of China", Prof. Bai has covered quite well both the historical development and the existing programs of community development in the Republic of China.

However, he did not include the contributions of community development to rural development in Taiwan, which is very important to our topic today, that is, "Rural Development Through Community Development."

I would like to add a few remarks. The term, community development, whether urban or rural, has several different meanings, depending on the way it is viewed. Irwin Sandrs has suggested that it be viewed as a process, as a method, as a program, or as a movement. But here, under the subject of "Rural Development Through Community Development," it may be best defined as an approach to rural development. In this sense, community development is a process of social action, in which the people of a village

—organize themselves for planning and action;

—define their common needs and problems;

—make group plans to meet their needs and solve their problems; and

—implement projects with a maximum of reliance upon community resources and with some technical or financial assistance from government agencies.

If we define community development as a process of social action or a approach to rural development, then, we may discuss the contributions of community development to rural development. From my own observation, community development has contributed greatly to rural development in Taiwan in terms of organization and education.

With regard to organization, we see that community development has made some contributions to rural development in Taiwan;

—in organizing village people in groups;

—in bridging the gaps between governments and the village people;

—in coordinating joint actions involving government and voluntary agencies; and

—in bringing the village people together and work for a better life.

With regard to education, we see that community development has also made some contributions to rural development in Taiwan:

—in teaching people to adopt new techniques and to learn new skills, especially in the agricultural field;

—in developing self-help projects and self-confident attitudes;

—in stimulating popular participation, and developing local leadership; and

—all in all, in promoting a democratic society, and lifting up people's living standard in Taiwan.

THE MOST EFFICIENT STRATEGY TO PROMOTE RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Mr Sombat Thavorn
Project officer
Catholic Council of Thailand for Development
Thailand

Countries in the Third World, as we may often heard, are heavily concentrating their effort in every way to bring about the prosperity in which it includes developments in politico-socio-economic aspects. This has been carried out in and along the ways by which the heavy industrial countries, the developed countries, have ever passed. Lots of dragging people along the way have often occurred. Some countries can get along very well, while some others, with less resources of all kinds, are keeping stumbling now and then and eventually going nowhere, but, instead, heavy losses have taken place. In spite of everything perceived, many have been keeping trying in one way or other to improve means to go towards the flourish of the countries through developments. But lots of countries fail to reach the destination. Urban areas can flourish very fast, while rural areas, neglected, are lagging behind. The whole country cannot go about very well with the conflicts between the two sectors; the whole system of the country has been afflicted because of this factor. And consequently, rural areas' problems have been taken into consideration and the processes have been worked out to follow with the hope that some day when rural areas are much more developed, less problems of all aspects will happen.

This article has been written out of other persons' experiences seen in the area of my office's activities, *Catholic Councle of Thailand for Development*

1. The Most Effective Strategy to Eliminate Poverty in rural areas

1.1 The causes of the poverty in rural areas
  1. Lack of education of the rural people
  2. Negligence on the part of the central government
  3. Unbalanced distribution of growth between agricultural and industrial sectors
  4. More concentration on physical or visible developments than on spiritual aspects
  5. All types of centralization in the capital city, which is often seen as a symbol of the whole country. This greatly attracts the unskilled labors to move towards it and creates the more negligence of the rural hometowns of the rural people; the big cities are where progress in life stays.
  6. Influential groups of any type

1.2 The most effective strategy
  1. Decentralization of what has so far been centralized.

2. Conscientisation
3. The one to go to help must be the one amongst them. More reliability is put on the one of this type. This would act as a catalyst or an agent of change.
4. Rural Leadership Training courses are to be promoted for those able to acts as men of serving their local fellow-men.
5. Experience exchange Programs are to be promoted. And any type of bodies, organizations and persons concerned should be brought together to work out more improved methods of working to be utilized in accord with conditions prevailing. Coordination and collaboration.
6. Formation of group dynamism, and its utilization to develop the group and community
7. Human behaviour must be taken into account.

2. Rural development through community development

1. The influential groups and personnels must pay more attention to their community's prosperity and are to try to bring change agents to their societies. They are to take the lead roles, standing any type of scorns in the development procedures.
2. They are to drag the outside influential groups or organizations, both governmental and private, to really do something to correct the situation or even some attitudes of the people.
3. Everything beneficial to the community must be discussed and well understood to assure the accomplishment of any project. Regulations are to be followed closely by all concerned. The people should see more of the long-term benefits, even at the expense of some sacrifices in the meantime.

Causes of failure

1. The aims of the activities are going mainly towards material good only—economic aspect of life. People are very happy to enjoy that, but. . .
2. People do not care for taking any responsibility. They only see that everything is out of their reach, but actually it is not far beyond their aspiration.
3. They do not consider that is their work; they have very little to do with it or within it.
4. The activity to be undertaken does not really comprehend their whole life. It does not emerge from their spiritual, physical and economic yearning.
5. Efficiency orientation
(Annexes A, B, and C)

3. The planning and utilization of rural manpower

3.1 The planning of rural manpower
  1. Rural Leadership Training is to be promoted
  2. Organizations of the people, by the people to display their human resources already occupied.

3.2 Utilization of rural manpower

Towards common interest group, such as, credit union group and cooperatives.

4. The problems concerning migration of manpower from rural to urban areas

1. Rural people can no more stand on its own amidst the overwhelming needs for cash
2. Unbalanced distribution of growth and the fast growth of the industrial sector.

(Annex A)

CCTD Project No. 69/14

WATER BUFFALO, RICE AND CHEMICAL FERTILIZER PROJECT.

District of Kaeng Khlo
Province of Chaiyaphum
North-eastern part of Thailand

Note 1. The project has been carried out completely according to the letters of the regulations worked out and agreed upon by members of the group.
2. The project embraces only the members; altogether 29 families.
3. Problems rarely occurs, owing to the carefulness of accepting new members.
4. The project may be unworkable for other locations different from the project site—drought can be a very great harm to the project; farmers have to pay the return in the form of paddy rice.

Regulations of Water Buffalo, Rice and Fertilzer Proiect.

1. General

1. Every member comes in joint effort to develop his own family; the rich or the poor have the equal right regarding the loss and the benefit of the project.
2. We follow "Love one another" not only by word, but also with deeds. Selfishness is the greatest mistake and it behooves that any selfish person must be ousted or must change his present habit.
3. This project is built up with an outside help in the form of money in the amount of about 30,000 Baht (US$ 1,500-) the charity money. Remember that this money cannot belong to this group forever; that we must try in one way or other to help other villages with the same situation to form the like project.

2. Membership

1. Take time in accepting new members.
2. Examine well the conduct of the new members.

3. **Once received, not easy to be ousted.**
4. **Never accept one with bad reputation (lots of debt, glambing, frequent contacts with any one with bad reputation)**
5. **A committee of 5 persons must be set up to consider and decide whether it is productive to accept any new one. This is very preponderant. Protect better than cure. (See how one loses his right)**
6. **Once accepted by the said committee, the new member must give 10 bins (10 litres heavy each) of paddy rice to the group barn; then he will enjoy the right as other members. And the regulations must be read and explained to him so that he will know his duty and rights and thereafter a member must take special attention of him.**

3. *Loss of rights*

—If any member does not follow the regulations
- —selfish
- —sell out the group's belongings—rice and fertilizer—for his own benefit.
- —give out the group's belongings—rice and fertilizer—to non-members
- —not pay back the return in due time.
- —not care for what received—water buffalo.

—The committee must call for a meeting for consultation and reconsideration and dealing with that member. Never leave things in the hand of any member who is likely to cause risks. That member must be ousted. *He is to lose all rights and not able to claim for anything.*

—If one member is in debt to the group and does not pay his due (He flees to other place or does not pay his debt.) *every member must have a part in repaying his debt instead of him.*

Example

The group has 33 members.
One has borrowed 32 bins of paddy rice
has bought 2 bags of fertilizers at the price of 200 Baht (US$10), has sold the buffalo and fled (the water buffalo cost 150 bins of paddy rice)
Other present members are to pay
I bin of paddy rice
16 Baht (US$0.8) for fertilizer (500:32)
5 bins of paddy rice for the water buffalo.

Any present member who does not pay his due *is considered doing a mistake and must be ousted. "Gaining profits together needs risking together" is a principle. Every one must be responsible accordingly.*

Rice Bank

1. Rice will be given out to a member only when he is starting to plant the rice in his field.
2. A big meeting must be called when a member without rice, to go with during his rice planting season, cries for help. Then the committee will work out how much to be given out.
3. A member cannot ask for than 48 bins each (60 bins must be paid back to the

group) *Easy to give out, but difficult to call back.* (*Even though there are lots of paddy rice left in the barn, it cannot be given out more than the amount agreed upon*)

4. While rice being given out, a member of the committee must be present. If not, rice cannot be given out. And once given out, the amount must be written down.
5. According to this regulation 5 bins of paddy must be paid back for the 4 borrowed bins.
6. Members must be punctual in paying back the borrowed rice—*not later than* 1 *February*.
7. A member of the committee must be present to receive the rice paid back and assure the amount.
8. The rice remaining from borrowing (including the rice for the cost of water buffalo) will be sold out in the market when its price is good. Regarding this, the committee must first consult each other and while selling, 2 members of the committee must be present. The income gained must be written down in big account book.
9. Never keep any income at home. It is not secure. Deposit it in the bank.

Water Buffalo Bank. (Female Baffalo)

1. This is for the member without any buffalo to work with during the rice planting season (with one buffalo already, one cannot claim for one more buffalo.)
2. Who wants to borrow the buffalo he must be a member of the group.
3. When one member wants to borrow a buffalo,
   —the committee must accept his request
   —the committee must consult each other
   —If without any obstruction, things can be done.
4. If a member wants to make use of a buffalo he sees in the market or a buffalo of one member
   —the committee must go to see the said buffalo
   —see how much that should be and pay the price.
5. The price of the said buffalo be counted in the form of the paddy rice that must be paid as a form of rent for 3 running years.

   Example The price of the paddy rice in February of every year will be the measure for cost counting. If a buffalo is bought at 3,000 Baht (US$150) and that year the market price of paddy rice is 15 Baht per bin, it must be written down in the account book that that member must pay back the rent in the amount of 200 bins of rice in 3 years.

1.	1st year	70 bins
2.	1st year	70 bins
3.	3rd year	60 bins

6. When a member has borrowed and is making use of buffalo borrowed, the buffalo is still considered the belongings of group until he pays his due according to the regulations.
   1. pay the rent for 3 running years.
   2. give the first offering of the buffalo to the group. (Even if the rent said has already been paid for three years, but the first offspring is not yet given to the group, the said member cannot claim for the ownership right over the

buffalo. The contract is not complete yet.)

7. For the borrowed buffalo, each year insurance premium of 40 Baht (US$2) must be paid.
8. Once the rent has been paid for 3 running years and the first offspring is given to the group, the committee will give the mother buffalo to the said member.
9. If the member fails
    - —to pay the rent according to the contract
    - —to look after the buffalo well.

   The buffalo must be called back and the said member cannot claim for any compensation. (He has already made use of the buffalo—he must pay for what he should)
10. Every member must be responsible for anything belonging to the group.
11. When the rent in the form of paddy rice is paid, the amount must be written down accordingly.

Water Pump

Whosoever borrows paddy rice
borrows a buffalo
has a big debt already.

If he again borrows a water pump, it would be too harsh for him.

He who has already a buffalo can buy a water pump.

Example

A water pump costs 3,000 Baht (US$150) and the price of paddy rice in February is 15 Baht (US$7.50) per bin, it must be written down that that water pump costs 200 bins of rice and must be paid 200 bins, 100 bins a year.

The committee must work out well so that the member will be able to make himself up and that would not be a failure to himself.

Fertilizer

—Buy the amount of fertilizers that the member need.

—Write down in each member's account book the cost of the fertilizer plus 20% for service fees.

—The cost of the fertilizer plus 20% for service fees must be paid within the period of time agreed upon by all, not later than 1 February.

(Annex B)

CCTD 68/13 RICE BANK
Songje village, District of Loengnoktha
Province of Yasothorn, North-eastern part of Thailand

1. Its beginning

An amount of 23,400 Baht (US$1,170) was allotted in 1969, and herewith 1,532 kilograms of paddy rice was bought and put in a barn of the group, standing in the village.

2. Membership

1. One must be a member of the Credit Union Group

2. He then must pay 20 Baht (US$1) for membership fee

3. Operating regulations

1. Meeting

   Each year a meeting will be convened to put down the regulations for its operation in the year. This meeting will be part of the yearly meeting of the Credit Union Group, which falls in January or February. Thereafter a committee of 5 members is set up to be resposible for releasing the rice and calling back the released rice plus some service fees in the form of paddy rice, according to the principles worked out and agreed upon by all members. (In the time of calling back the borrowed rice, the committee are allowed to claim for 5% of income gained for some service fees in the form of paddy rice.)

2. Help

   2.1 *Receiver*

   A. Members of the group

   A member can borrow each time 240 kilograms up to 360 kilograms of paddy rice and has to pay back the borrowed amount plus 20% of what has been borrowed.

   He needs no one to guarantee his borrowing.

   B. Non-members

   They can borrow each time 120 kilograms up to 180 kilograms and have to pay back the borrowed amount plus 40% of what has been borrowed. They need to have one member to guarantee their borrowings.

   2.2 *Releasing rice*

   The committee will release rice only to those who have begun to plant rice in their field and will stop releasing they finish planting rice. (The reason is that during the rice planting season one cannot go anywhere to find work and gain income)

4. Problems

1. Two borrowers fled to other far away village and did not pay their due.
2. Members are later to return the borrowed amount than the non-members.
3. It is very hard to train youngsters to come up to be responsible for its future operation.

5. Benefits

1. This rice bank can help the poor villagers have enough rice for the year long and escape the exploitation of the rice and money lenders who usually claim for a 70% of the borrowings. And this consequently has gradually helped destroy the rice and money lenders, though small in a small village like Songje, and eventually paralyses the whole process.
2. A part of the income gained from selling the rice can help the members regarding the expenses then they have to go for meetings in far-away towns
3. A part of the said income helps strengthen the Credit Union group of the village.
4. An amount of fund can be set aside to help other projects.

(Annex C)

WATER BUFFALO HIRE-PURCHASE BANK

Nong Din Dam Village
District of Kanthalak, Province of Srisaket
North-eastern part of Thailand

This water buffalo bank was started in 1971 with a fund of 4,300 Baht (US$215) with which 6 female buffaloes could be bought. In 1975 they had 10 members. And in 1976 there are 13 members of the group enjoying the benefits of this kind of bank. And this year 4 members have an ownership right over 4 buffalos.

This project was commenced by a French priest who very much cares for his poor villagers of Nong Din Dam, a new village in a virgin land. In this village there are both Buddhist and Catholic. They are very well united. They help each other very well. In 1970 there were 40 families, but now there are 90. Each family has lots of children who cannot help their families yet. Poor farmers as they be, buffaloes can be of the only great assistance to cultivate the new land. When the buffalo bank was put down with the below regulations, lots of benefits occur to them.

Regulations of the bank

1. The Bank buys and is the owner of the buffaloes. The members of the bank cannot sell, change, exchange or even kill the buffalo under their responsibility. They are only borrowers.
2. The member must carefully tender the buffalo and must give the first and the second offsprings of the buffalo, when they are 2 years old, to the Bank.
3. If the borrowed buffalo is stolen, the borrower must pay according to what is, agreed upon by the committee.
4. If a buffalo is sick or falls dead, the borrower must pay for the buffalo. If animal disease spreads, informations must be given to the Bank in order not to bring harms to other people.
5. When the female buffalo, borrowed, has 2 young, the borrower has right over the said female buffalo and the other young to come.
6. If the female buffalo is sterile, it will be sold away, and a new one will be given to the same borrower who will also have the ownership right over it when it has 2 young.
7. If the first 3 young of the female buffalo die, the mother buffalo will be sold away and a new one will be bought and given to the same borrower, who will have an ownership right over it when it has 2 young.
8. If a mother buffalo, after having the first young, is sick, it must be returned to the Bank and a new one be given to the same borrower, who will have an ownership right when it has the first young.
9. If the borrower wants to buy the male young that is sent to the Bank, it will be sold at the market price.
10. The Bank will never sell the female young that is sent to the Bank, but will give it to other member.
11. Upon borrowing the buffalo, the borrower must sign the contract in the presence of the parish priest, village head and the committee members.

12. Members must swear to be honest and follow the regulations.
13. Members must pay the membership fee as agreed upon by the group.
14. When a member wants to borrow a buffalo, he must put down his land deeds or land papers and have two guarantees to recommend him.
15. If the member does not care for the buffalo borrowed, he will be notified by the committee. And if he still carries on neglecting duties, he will be cut off from the group and the buffalo borrowed will be taken away from him.
16. If any member fails to follow any point of the contract, he is to be fined according to what is agreed upon by the committee.

PRINCIPLES GOVERNING RURAL DEVELOPMENT WORK IN THAILAND

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Rural development work during the period of the Fourth National Social and Economic Development Plan will adhere to the main development principle stressing on aid to enable people in the rural areas to help themselves and make further progress without having to rely on others. This is because in rural development activities if we stick to the idea that the state should act as simply the giver it is certain that all development efforts would end up in complete failure. This could be seen from the fact that in the past the government had made great efforts in the community development field spending much of its resources in the rural areas for the improvement of all facilities and services but in general it was found that the roads and other public utilities did not receive due maintenance from the local people. The reason is that villagers in the areas have low income because they do not have occupations bringing in regular incomes with the result that the government has to bear all the burdens indefinitely. For this reason in laying down policies for rural development during the Fourth National Social and Economic Development Plan we have to adhere fully to the principles that the people must be aided to help themselves and make further progress without having to rely on others in all matters.

In order that people in the rural areas, comprising about 80 per cent of the total population of about 42 million, could stand on their own feet, there are six principles of operations that must be strictly adhered to as follows:

1. Supporting the use of labour for increased agricultural production.—From the facts collected Thailand which is an agricultural country has human resources remaining much unutilised with much unemployment and under-employment comparatively much lower than in other countries. The mobilisation of such human resources for use in agricultural production instead of using machinery to replace them for the most part therefore could be considered the first important guideline for rural development work in support of the principles governing rural development activities so as to enable the people in the rural areas to help themselves in the end.

2. Supporting the employment of labour in the rural areas in the small-scale construction of public utilities. —Although the government is in full support of the use of labour in the rural areas for increased agricultural production, such measures are not adequate for providing enough work for the people and providing them with regular income all through the year. For these reasons the second important guide line for rural development work would be to support the employment of labour in the rural areas in the small-scale construction of public utilities required for development

work to provide additional income for the farmers in the villages.

3. Supporting the setting up of rural industries. —The development of cottage industries or small-scale industries is one way to provide full employment among the people in the rural areas and with regular income. In the development of industries in the rural areas what is most important is the measure to be taken to encourage the use of agricultural raw materials in the small-scale industries to be set up and the production of materials and equipment for use in agriculture particularly for animal husbandry and farming both in the uplands and in the lowlands.

4. Encouraging savings among the farmers. —To strengthen belief in the self-help principle it will be necessary to encourage farmers to save up part of their income for use as future capital. In general it was found that all over Thailand one basic problem exists—most of the farmers lack enough capital and this in turn forces them to get into debts paying very high rates of interest. Such a situation discourage them in their efforts and they have to reduce the necessary expenses. By encouraging them to save we could in part mobilise their own capital for use in agricultural production without having to pay high interest and could rely at least a certain amount of money from their own sources for use as capital.

5. Setting up a co-ordination unit for rural development activities. —In the past rural development activities by different units are not carried out in close co-ordination. This is because all the ministries and departments responsible for the programs have their own set limits and each of them has to do their work independently without caring for others. Rural development efforts in the past therefore failed to bring about satisfactory results and for this reason it is considered appropriate to set up a work unit or a committee to co-ordinate all rural development activities among all the government units concerned.

6. Setting up rural development centres. —In order that rural development activities could be carried out as planned it is necessary to set up rural development centres in all cities of the different regions. The centres will act as media between the cities and the rural areas and serve as centre for the purchase and sale of agricultural materials and equipment including fertilisers, seeds and animal breeds. They will also serve as agricultural purchasing houses and local industrial products.

By following the above six principles, it will be seen that success in rural development activities in the future is quite possible with the result that farmers could be fully supported to stand on their own feet and in the end able to help themselves fully.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF PLANTATION WORKERS

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The NUPW is the largest and strongest trade union in Malaysia representing about 250,000 workers in rubber, oil palm, tea and coconut plantations.

Over the 27 years of its existence, the NUPW has substantially improved wages and conditions of employment in the plantations. The Union has also implemented several other schemes for the benefit of its members.

Education:

The Union provides scholarships and study loans to deserving students from the plantations and todate about 50 university students have benefitted by this scheme.

It has also built two hostels, one in Petaling Jaya and the other in Kuala Krai, to provide cheap accommodation to students from rural areas.

Training:

One of the major causes of unemployment among plantation youths is the lack of skills. The Union has embarked on training schemes whereby plantation and other rural youths are taught technical skills required by the growing industries in Malaysia.

Collaborating with the Gandhi Memorial Trust Fund and on its own the Union has sent over 50 boys for technical training overseas.

The National Union of Plantation Workers, Negri Sembilan State Development Corporation and the Lutheran Institute of Vocational Education have jointly set up an Agro-Industrial Complex in Kuala Pilah. The Complex, costing $7 million, will:

i) Train plantation and rural youths in various industrial and agricultural skills.
ii) develop a dairy farm and cultivate plantation crops on a commercial scale.

Welfare:

The NUPW encourages its members to practise family planning through articles in its newspapers—the "Sangamani", seminars, lectures and mass meetings.

The Union together with the Plantation Associations and the All Malayan Estates Staff Union organises annual athletic meets for plantation workers from district to national level.

Towards New Frontiers:

Despite the wage increases and better working conditions, the plantation workers are still economically weak. The NUPW as a step towards creating a new future for the plantation workers and their children has moved into new frontiers of trade unionism.

Savings Scheme:

The NUPW launched a Savings Scheme whereby workers are encouraged to make monthly savings to be deposited in a bank. The objectives of the scheme are to:

i) movilise the economic resources of the plantation workers to enable them to participate in industrial projects in the future; and

ii) provide savings to acquire houses, provide education for their children and help them during their retirement.

During the widespread subdivision of estates in the 1960s the NUPW set up a cooperative society and a limited company to buy estates which came up for sale. Today, with subdivision restricted by law, the two organizations spearhead the commercial and welfare projects of the union.

The National Multi Purpose Cooperative Society

The Society owns the Lapan Hutan Estate in Selangor. It has plans to start low-cost housing schemes and land schemes for the plantation workers.

The Great Alonioners Trading Corporation (GATCO)

GATCO is the industrial and commerical wing of the NUPW. A limited company with an authorised capital of $30 million, it owns the 2000 acre Dovenby Estate near Ipoh. Now in collaboration with the Negri Sembilan State Development Corporation and the Lakshmi Textiles Exporters of India, GATCO has set up Chempaka Negri Lakshmi Textiles Sdn. Bhd. Chempaka's success will no doubt lead GATCO and the NUPW to further successful business ventures.

A Vision Come True

A vision turned into reality in Malaysia, is the formation of a company—the Chempaka Negri Lakshmi Textiles Sendirian Berhad—a joint venture undertaken by a trade union, a State Government and an Indian industrial firm, in Seremban, the capital city of Negeri Sembilan. Had such a consortium been suggested a short decade ago, it might have been dismissed as an impractical project, for it is very rarely indeed that one hears of labour, government and industry, working harmoniously together, let along joining hands across labour, management and capital barriers, to form a unique and workable partnership.

In Malaysia today, the worker is treated right. Government and industry have recognised the power and potential of responsible labour and have extended to it encouragement, support and impetus. Thus it was that the multi-million dollar Chempaka Negri Lakshmi Textiles company was formed about a year ago. The company is a joint venture undertaken by the National Union of Plantation Workers, the Negeri Sembilan State Development Corporation and the Lakshmi Textiles Exporters.

"Chempaka" was motivated by the National Union of Plantation Workers (NUPW), seeking new frontiers of trade unionism, to bring new hope to the thousands of plantation workers, their families and their children. In the early 1960s, sub-division of estates was widespread. In order to minimise the hardship caused by the displacement of workers, the NUPW set up the Great Alonioners Trading Corporation (GATCO), as a limited company and the National Multipurpose Co-operative Society, to purchase estates which came up for sale. The company acquired an estate near Ipoh, while the co-operative society bought another in Selangor. However, as a result of continuous trade union pressure, spearheaded by the NUPW, sub-division of estates was restricted by law. This, at last, brouht some temporary relief to the plantation community.

But new problems arose and unemployment became the most pressing. Plantation youths, many with secondary education, were jobless. They lacked skills and opportunities. So it was that the formation of GATO gave the necessary impetus to the plantation workers and the NUPW began considering investment in industry to create employment.

During their visits to foreign countries, NUPW leaders explored possibilities of collaborating with foreign industrialists. On one of these trips abroad, the union came across the Lakshmi group in South India. This group had an impressive record of long and successful experience in the textile industry. More than that, the interest that the group showed in labour welfare, firmly convinced the NUPW that it had found its business partner.

But it was the vision and enlightened leadership of the Mentri Besar of Negeri Sembalan, Datuk Mansor Othman, that welcomed this partnership to Negeri Sembilan, where the NUPW took its roots, some 28 years ago. Datuk Mansor was quick to grasp the potential and the profound impact that this tripatrite effort would have on the concept of economic development in the whole country. He gave the encouragement in the whole country. He gave the encouragement and strength to the whole idea by deciding that his State would participate in the venture. Thus, the NUPW, through its company, GATCO, the Negeri Sembilan State Development Corporation and the Lakshmi Group, through its private limited company—the Lakshmi Textile Exporters have jointly set up the project, under the name of Chempaka Negri Lakshmi Textiles Sdn. Berhad, with an authorised capital of 30 million ringgit.

Situated on a 34-acre site at Senawang Industrial Estate in Negeri Sembilan, the company presently employs about 150 workers. About 120 of them have undergone practical training in India, where the various aspects of production, including maintenance of machines and quality control were taught.

The project is divided into three phases, of which the first has been recently completed. The first phase consists of a spinning mill with 12,960 spindles costing 14 million ringgit. The mill is equipped with sophisticated machinery from India, Italy, Switzerland, Germany and Japan. It is fully air-conditioned, providing maximum comfort to the workers as well as ideal conditions for the production of yarn of high and consistent quality.

Emphasis is placed on quality and according, the quality control laboratory is equipped with the most sophisticated equipment. The mill has not achieved full production and at present operates on only one shift per day. When fully operational the mill will produce 10,000 lbs of yarn per day and employ about 300 people. The Mill is geared to produce cotton yarn of various counts ranging from 10s to 80s. It can produce single, double or three ply yarn, either carded or combed and waxed. The yarn, supplied in hanks or cones will cater to the needs of waving mills, knitting mills and sewing thread manufacturers and will be sold to local consumers as well as to overseas markets.

With its up-to-date machinery and the youth and vigour of its trained workers, it is hoped that the complex will expand and emerge not only as the leading mill in Malaysia, but also in the region.

On completion of its second and third phases, the mill will employ a total of about 2,000 workers. It hopes to complete these last two phases by 1976.

Chempaka Negri Lakshmi Textiles is the first project of its kind, in which workers have been allowed to participate fully, in the industrial and economic development of our country. It will no doubt create new frontiers and be a forerunner of many similar ventures in Malaysia and perhaps, in other parts of the world, where government, labour and industry enjoy a stable climate.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION EDUCATION AND DEMONSTRATION VILLAGE FOR INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

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Generally speaking, agricultural extension work has great impact on community development. In Taiwan, the agricultural extension work is carried out by the provincial, county governments through farmers' associations at the three levels. The scope of agricultural extension work includes farm extension education, rural youth guidance, home economics extension education, agricultural information and the programs aim at helping the government carry out agricultural policies for improvement of farmers' living and better rural community in which to live.

At present, there are about 1,000 agricultural extension workers employed by the farmers' associations. The total amount of funds used for extension work by the FAs are approximately N.T.$110,000,000, of which 44% are financed by the government and the remaining 56% by the FAs themselves.

In Taiwan, besides the intensive utilization of mass communication media, emphasis is placed on use of group approach in carrying out agricultural extension work. Altogether, we organize 8,920 farm discussion groups for adult farmers, 3,752 4-H clubs for rural youth and 2,458 home improvement clubs for farm women. The total number of participants in all these extension basic organization is 354,540, and it is estimated that about 15% of farm operators are participating in the organizations. Besides the meetings of the extension groups/clubs, other group approaches, such as training meetings, study tours, meetings on method demonstrations and public talks on farm experiences, contests and camping activities are also conducted. All these activities cover the areas of extension education on agricultural production, vocation and career development, home improvement, sanitation and health, recreations and citizenship as well as community development. They contribute much to the rural man-power development.

For accelerating rural development, a plan for set up of demonstration villages for integrated development was made in December, 1974. At present, 10 villages have been selected to carry out the program. It is hoped that the village will be the basic unit to coordinate various community development and agricultural programs for improving farming patterns, promoting modernized agriculture, uplifting agricultural productivity, increasing farm income and improving rural environment and farmers' living.

According to the original plan, the program of demonstration village for integrated development will be carried out for a period of ten years in 50–100 villages.

It is projected that in a period of ten years the farm family income will reach the level of at least 70% of that of nonfarm family income, and all the farm families will enjoy the same facilities as those of the modern families and live in a modern rural country.

UNIVERSITIES AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Prof. G. L. McClymont
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Australia

The university and equivalent institutions of a country play a central role in its rural development. For the educational experience they provide heavily determines the approach of the country's economic, social, educational and agricultural planners and administrators, and its school curriculum developers and agricultural extension and research workers. If the university's approach to teaching is solely to produce specialized graduates in arts, science, economics, law, engineering, agriculture, etc., with no shared understanding of the problems of rural development, then the national approach to rural development is likely to be as deficient as the gradutes' understanding of it.

One of the central responsibilities of the universities of developing countries must be to educate their graduates not only in specialized fields, but also to see the relationships of these fields in approaching the country's central problem, rural development; which mean supplementing their specialized training with education directed at understanding of the role and interaction of ecological, economic and social factors in rural development. It must also lead to understanding of the dependence of man and his national, social, agricultural, industrial and economic constructs on depleting world resources of land, soil, minerals and energy reserves, and the implication of this for the capacity of the world to maintain in the long run even its present state and rate of economic development. For example the green revolution depends on replacing an agricultural economy based practically entirely on solar one requiring heavy inputs of energy from depleting fossil fuels in the form of fertilizers, agricultural chemicals, machinery and fuel. With increasing prices of energy and depleting energy sources, the economic and physical base of the green revolution is not a stable one. Graduates of all kinds must be educated to see the implications of these facts for national policies related to land resource use and population numbers.

Provision of such teaching makes a great demand on universities as it cuts across the normal academic boundaries. A special trans-disciplinary teaching unit through which staff members from any faculty or department can contribute to an integrated approach to development is needed. The unit must have a dynamic leader and the university should seek identify and give responsibility and support to the leader. Senior students could undertake seminars on aspects of development requiring both specialist knowledge and an integrative approach. Topics might be:

— planning and budgeting a rural extension scheme which provides food produc-

tion, cash crop production, nutrition, hygiene and family planning advice;
- planning an administrative structure for the integration of agricultural extension, credit, marketing and farm supplies;
- the relationship of land tenure policies to the capacity of the land to absorb population;
- designing an agricultural credit system.

Some of these projects may be too demanding (or politically sensitive) for undergraduate students. However they could be the subjects of workshops in which working graduates take part. Field studies by teams of students from different faculties on aspects of development, as part of their course requirements, are another way of promoting an integrated attitude and understanding.

THE SUPPORTING ROLE OF A HEALTH SERVICE IN A DEVELOPING SOCIETY.

MR. A. MARIONO, M.D.
Chairman
Association of Voluntary Health Service
Indonesia

1. The meaning of development.

Development is a process aimed at the total well-being of man. This total well-being of man encompasses his mental and spiritual condition as well as the physical and material.

This process is understood as the creating of conditions in which one can identify his own needs, mobilize his own resource and shape his own future on his own terms. The self-discovery by man of his own potentialities develops his self-confidence and this in turn contributes to the development of his family and in his community. This is real development from the grass-root level. For those who live in an infra-human situation this process should be understood as a liberation from the misery, not a liberation from the outside, but it should be a self-liberation.

In stimulating the process of self-conscientization and self-reliance, local resources should be the first to be tapped; outside resources, either domestic or foreign, should be considered as subsidiary aid to accelerate the local development.

2. Building awareness for development.

A society is usually viewed as being composed of a series of strata that are sometimes called social-class levels.

There have been marked differences of opinion about what criteria should be used in determining the nature of stratification and in determining an individual's stratification status.

The building of awareness for development is not an easy process, because it depends on the interrelationship within the stratification structures and on where an individual stands in such a structure. Nowadays, more than any time in the past, it is important to know "what the people are thinking". It becomes important to understand the attitudes of the people. This is particularly true for a developing society, where for centuries feudal and colonial control over diverse subcultures had been reigned. In regard to the social values, what are they thinking about education, occupation, housing, health, religion, marital status, number of children in a family, recreation, etc.

A dialogue with the people is very important, because in the dialogue one can find his own identity and so identify his possibilities for concrete action to shape his own history. This is the first step for development.

3. **Health and development.**

The promotion of health either individual or collective is an even indispensable component of the socio-economic development as education.

Health as a state of physical, psychical and social well-being is not only a basic need and a natural right of man, but also a necessary factor for economic and community development.

However health promotion alone is not enough to develop a community. With promoting the socio-economic condition, better conditions of life will be created, which in turn have a favourable influence on the morbidity and mortality rates, as well as on the average life expectancy. Later on a spontaneous decline of the birth rate will follow.

Health promotion should be a part of a coordinated whole of multidisciplinary actions, which lead to a total development.

Each individual, escaped from death due to medical interference, should be able to live a life worthy for a human being and with his work should be contributing to the development of the community, in which he lives.

Health has only sense if the socio-economic and cultural context provides everyone the opportunity to develop his human capacity as good as he can.

4. **The supporting role of the health service.**

In a society where the state of development is still on a low level, the need for a health service is hardly perceptable.

From rural sociological and economic studies there is the increasing evidence that the priority accorded to health care by villagers is under most conditions rather low. Only in case of epidemic outbreaks, the need of a health care temporarily becomes first priority. The higher the level of development, the higher priority is accorded to health care in both preventive and curative aspects.

Health authorities have often been so preoccupied with establishing health services within given geographical areas, without questioning their relevance to the existing situations.

Community development programmes such as agricultural development, improvement of irrigation, transportation and other health related programmes which may offer a natural base for health services should be given due consideration.

Based on the primary health care approach which is adopted by the twenty-eighth World Health Assembly in Geneve, May 1975, the establishment of a health service should take into consideration the following principles:

(i) A health service should be shaped around the life patterns of the population it should serve and should meet the needs of the community.

(ii) A health service should be an integral part of the national health service system, and other echelons of services should be designed in support of the needs of the peripheral level, especially as this pertains to technical supply, supervisory and referral support.

(iii) The activities of a health service should be fully integrated with the activities of other sectors involved in community development (agriculture, education, public works, housing and communications).

(iv) The local population should be actively involved in the formulation and implementation of the activities of a health service, so that the health service can brought into line with local needs and priorities. Decisions upon what are the community needs requiring solution should be based upon a continuing dialogue between the people and the services.

(v) The health service offered should place a maximum reliance on available community resources. Local resources should be the first to be tapped; outside resources, either domestic or foreign, should be considered as subsidiary aid, but should remain within the stringent cost limitations that are present in the community.

(vi) The health service provided should be an integrated service of preventive, promotive, curative and rehabilitative service for the individual, family and community.

The balance between these services should vary according to community needs and may change over time.

(vii) The majority of the activities should be undertaken at the most peripheral practicable level of the health services by workers most suitable trained for performing these activities.

THE PLAN TO HELP THE NEEDY

Department of Social Affairs
Taiwan Provincial Government
Republic of China

I. Initiation of the Plan

As a result of the enforcement of the economic policies based on the Principle of People's Livelihood—a doctrine established by Dr. Sun Yat-sen which is aimed at the elimination of poverty and the equitable distribution of national wealth among the people, Taiwan has achieved, in past 20 odd years, rapid economic development, ever increasing national income and much lifted living standard of the people, reflected in the prosperity and stability of the society.

To comply with the dirctives of late Preisdent Chiang, the Taiwan Provincial Government created in 1965 the Social Welfare Fund with revenues partly from the Urban Land Tax and partly from the Urban Land Value Increment Tax, intensifying its efforts to promote the welfare of the poor. Since then, remarkable improvement has been made in their living conditions. This can be well illustrated by the ever decrease in numbers of both poor families and poor people.

However, with the society in the process of transforming from agricultural to industrial economy, some people inadaptable to this change impoverished. According to the survey data compiled by townships and villages and checked by the college students majoring in Sociology, there were 74,247 poor families, totalling 391,463 persons, in 1971.

While Premier Chiang visiting the Taiwan Provincial Government on June 16, 1972, he indicated that the poor people should be assisted to find employment or engage themselves in productive activities. To the aged or disabled, said Premier Chiang, should be taken good care of by the government.

It is the view of Governor Hsieh that passive relief can only provide sustenance for the poor. Neither can it wipe out poverty. Therefore, he demanded that the relief measures should be positive in nature, so as to make the society clear of poverty and enable all the people in this province leading an above level life.

The Plan to Help the Needy was thus mapped out by the Taiwan Provincial Department of Social Affairs.

II. Preparation of the Plan

This plan is prepared with scrupulous consideration. As with far-reaching effect, every detail of this plan, for instance, its effectiveness and feasibility, has been seriously studied. First, the experience obtained from the catering of social relief, its merits and demerits, were thoroughly reviewed. At the same time, all the problems arising from the transformation of the society from agricultural to industrial economy were also analysed.

Based on the findings thus gained, a draft plan was worked out. With a view to combining theory with practice, it was distributed to Sociology professors, experts and scholars on social work and journalists familiarized with social affairs for comments. In addition, opinions of college students were also sought for. Governor Hsieh even went to long journey to hold discussions, at which the heads of mass communication agencies were invited to be present, for the exchange of views on this meaningful work. All good suggestions were incorporated into the plan.

The draft plan as revised was submitted to the 1179th Meeting of the Taiwan Provincial Council on October 23, 1972 for screening and approval. It was declared to be effective by Governor Hsieh on the eve of the Taiwan Retrocession Day, October 25, 1972.

III. Framework of the Plan

As revealed by the findings of the surveys and researchs so far conducted, the factors of poverty: oversized dependents in the family, less working-age members, insufficient education or training, poor physical or mental condition, family disorganized, bad housing, natural disasters and accidents. Some of these factors are causes and effects one another, thereby resulting in vicious cycle. For this reason, it is quite unlikely that the poor people could improve their living by themselves.

To carry out the present phase social policies embodied in the Principle of People's Livelihood, the poverty problem has to be tackled at the first place. In doing so, surveys were conducted in the attempt to find out the immediate needs of the poor. According to data collected, their common needs are medical care, housing repair, vocational training and production loans. Besides, the grade A poor people wish to be accommodated in relief institutions or provided with family subsidies. The most urgent needs of those falling in grades B and C are vocational training, employment service, production loan and guidance on birth control. To meet their needs, the following measures have been taken:

1. *Improvement of housing conditions for the poor*: Improved living environment can not only prevent illness, but help mop up the causes of poverty. For the poor, new houses have been built and the old dilapidated ones repaired in coordination with the community development programs.
2. *Investment in manpower development*: Insufficient education and/or training is the prime cause of the family turning poor. The emphasis is therefore placed on education and training, employment service and medical care, in the hope that by way of manpower development, the working ability, of the poor could be enhanced.
3. *Redistribution of income*: In an industrialized society, the income gap between the rich and the poor is inevitably getting wider and wider. To attain the goal of economic equality, the only way is to transfer part of the income of the high income group to the people in the low income bracket. For this purpose, the Social Welfare Fund and the Goodwill Fund have been set up one after another with government revenues and donations from the public as sources respectively.
4. *Participation of the poor*: In this respect, the poor people are encouraged to take part in different sorts of social services. Worthwhile to mention is the Summer Camps conducted for them every year. The participants are invited to work to-

gether with the staffs of township and village offices in the study and formulation of the operation programs of the Plan to Help the Needy to be enforced in these townships and villages. The participation of the poor in such kinds of affairs would create in them a sense of belonging and achieve the objective of social inclusion, making the plan more effectively implemented.

5. *Physical and mental rehabilitation of the poor*: Physical or mental handicap is also one of the causes of poverty. For the physically disabled, corrective treatments such as provision of artificial limps are usually applied before vocational rehabilitation is conducted. Those who are mentally handicapped are helped to stand on their own feet by overcoming the difficulties they are confronting, through the use of counselling and case work.
6. *Collective and selective economic measures*: The best way to relieve the poor from distress is to motivate their willingness to engage themselves in productive work. In addition to such measures as provision of employment service and job opportunities, those who wish to initiate some sorts of business can be granted production loans and provided with advices on production techniques.

IV. Contents of the Plan

Based on the understanding of the problem of poverty and the needs of the poor as mentioned in foregoing paragraphs, a multiple-pronged strategy is worked out, which places equal emphasis on passive and positive measures and mobilization of community efforts, for tackling the difficulties faced by the poor.

1. Passive measures

The capacity of relief institutions has been expanded, so as to accommodate all the grade A poor persons and those in grades B and C who are disabled, suffering from chronic illness, moronic or mentally deranged.

In addition, the scope of medical care for the poor has also been enlarged in the hope to restore the working ability of those whom can be expected to work again.

2. Positive measures

a. Education and training

Efforts are made to help the school-age children of poor families to go to school. Education loans are granted to the youngsters of poor families to attend vocational schools. Special classes are conducted for adults. And workshops are set up in cooperation with vocational schools and factories to train the poor people to be fit for employment.

b. Employment service

The poor with working ability are assisted in getting jobs according to their preferences and calibers.

c. Production guidance

By means of granting loans and promoting family sidelines, the poor with working ability are helped to engage in productive activities.

d. Construction of housing units

To improve the living condition of the poor, housing units are erected up in coordination with the community development programs. The dilapidated houses occupied by the poor families are repaired.

e. Guidance on birth control

For the sake of promoting family planning, the poor people are persuaded to practice birth control, with free supply of technical instructions and contraceptive devices and drugs.

f. Prevention of reappearance of poverty

To do so, healthy service teams are organized to advise the poor on public sanitation and disease prevention. In addition, emergency relief is intensified and the mentally deranged are provided with institutional care.

3. *Mobilization of community efforts*

With a view to combining the efforts of the society at large to help the government carry out this plan, Goodwill Accounts and Goodwill Boxes have been established and voluntary Service Teams organized. It is hoped that with the adoption of these measures, the manpower, material and financial supports could be obtained from the public, so as to attain the objectives of this plan more quickly.

a. Goodwill Accounts

The donations, in cash or in kind, from the public are deposited for uses in connection with the implementation of this plan.

b. Goodwill Boxes

Comments, offers of job opportunities from the public are accepted, as reference, in carrying out this plan.

c. Voluntary Service Teams

Organized by enthusiastic individuals, the teams provide their services gratuitously. In helping the government carry out this plan, their working schedules are made in accordance with the specialties and working hours of the team members on one hand, and with the services needed by the poor or the relief institutions on the other.

V. Methods of Implementation

Being a sort of comprehensive social welfare measure, this plan is carried out by means of community development. It not only requires the combined efforts of the government and the people, but also the team work among governmental agencies and the active participation of the inhabitants of various communities. Should they not understand the meaning and contents of this plan, thereby giving the cold shoulders, its implementation would be affected. For this reason, this plan is closely coordinated with the community development in the course of implementation—helping the people organize themselves to solve their own problems.

VI. Working Items

1. *Creation of Implementing Agencies*

To ensure the successful carrying out of this plan, implementing agencies have to be created in the first step. Thus, the Group for Planning, Supervising and Evaluating the Implementation of the Plan to Help the Needy was created in the Taiwan Provincial Government. It is composed of the heads of provincial departments and bureaus concerned with the Secretary General of the Provincial Government as its convenor.

The Provincial Department of Social Affairs is responsible for liaison, coordintion and routine work.

In city and county governments and in township and village offices, there is a Group for Implementing the Plan to Help the Needy each, responsible for collection of data, and planning and implementation of this plan.

2. *Preparation of Annual Operation Projects*

The annual operation projects for FY 1974 were prepared by provincial departments and bureaus concerned. As the result of repeated coordination and discussion, under the auspices of the Provincial Committee for Economic Mobilization, 36 projects were put into practice.

For FY 1975, 27 were adopted by the provincial Group to be enforced.

For FY 1976, some of the following 23 project are still being under way.

3. *Intensification of Coordination*

a. Utilization of mass media for publicity

In an attempt to solicit the full support of all walks of life in the society, the Provincial Department of Information has invited the heads of mass communication agencies in different places to attend the meetings conducted for briefing them on this plan. In response, they have agreed to publicize matters concerning this frequently. In addition, they have further agreed to intensify social services by organizing their workers into voluntary service teams.

b. Cooperation with universities and colleges

To combine theory with practice, discussions have been held with teachers and students of several universities and colleges on methods of implementation.

c. Seeking for supports of non-government agencies

(a) In addition to the Community Service Centers and Stations with which contacts have been made for their support, the Provincial assemblymen and mayors and magistrates have all been briefed on this plan and provided with materials thereof.

(b) At request, the Chinese Youth Corps has promised to incorporate this plan, as one item, in the working programs prepared for its branch offices and the Rural Community Service Teams operating in summer and winter vacations.

4. *Conducting of Training*

a. Seminars for section chiefs of civil and social affairs

Soon after the promulgation of this plan, the section chiefs of civil and social affairs of various city and county governments were called to participate in the seminars, to enable them sharing the same concepts, unifying their steps and developing in themselves a team work spirit while playing their parts in the implementation of this plan.

b. Seminars for all levels of workers

For the same purpose, seminars have been conducted in five districts of this province, with a total of about 1,500 participants coming from city and county governments, from township and village offices, and from voluntary bodies concerned.

c. Discussion sessions for working cadres

In the period from January to March 1965, discussion sessions were held in various places of this province for exchanging of experience, demonstration of exemplary cases and discussion of working methods. Participants: staff members of township and village offices, community service stations and the Chinese Youth Corps, leaders of voluntary service teams, and headmasters of public high schools.

d. Conducting of self-reliance summer camps

Two youngsters of the poor families in the age group of 18–25 are selected from each of the townships and villages every year to attend the Self-Reliance Summer Camps. they are introduced about the contents of this plan and the working methods of voluntary service teams. And they are encouraged to be self-respecting, optimistic and enterprising. Upon the termination, they are enrolled to be members of the voluntary service teams in the localities where they live.

e. Evaluation of performances

Evaluation Groups composing representatives of provincial departments and bureaus will be dispatched to various cities and counties, even to townships and villages, respectively, to see what the progresses have been made and what problems they have.

The cities, counties, townships and villages with excellent performances will be duly rewarded.

f. Rewards

The voluntary bodies that have rendered commendable services, the voluntary service teams that have performed their duties praiseworthily, and the individuals who have donated generously, will all be properly rewarded.

g. Radio programs

Programs on the subject of this plan will be broadcast soliciting supports from all walks of life in the society and encouraging the poor to be self-reliant.

h. The Provincial Training Corps is expected to list this plan in the curriculum for all its trainees.

5. *Calling for Supports from the Society*

a. In response to the call of the government, voluntary bodies at provincial level have set up a Committee for Promotion of Voluntary Bodies' Support to the Plan to Help the Needy to be responsible for planning and promotion of supports from all categories of voluntary bodies.

b. Upon request, the provincial level Medical Practitioners Association has agreed to call on its members to render services to the poor free of charge.

c. The provincial level Druggists Association has also agreed to ask its members to provide free medicines for the poor.

d. The provincial level Medical Examination Technicians Association has promised to give the poor free examinations by its members.

e. The Provincial Research Institute of Computer Engineering has completed two training classes for the poor on punching card.

6. *Raising of Funds*

a. Donations to Goodwill Accounts

(a) Donations in cash to Account A (Provincial) have amounted to NT$42, 239.903.00.

(b) Donations in cash to Account B (local) have totalled NT$17,912,244.00.

b. The women's associations are requested to go on with the campaign for donations of old clothes and other used articles from the communities. The proceeds from the sale of these things will be deposited in goodwill accounts.

c. Basketball Match

For the purpose of raising funds, a basketball match among 4 best girls' teams in this island has taken place at Taichung. The proceeds from this match ran to NT$400,000.00.

d. Costume Show

Two costume shows have been conducted at Taichung and Kaoshsiung with net income talling NT$176,577.00.

e. Concert

A concert was given by a girls' college at Taichung. Total contribution received amounted to NT$363,400.00.

f. Baseball Contest

To support this plan, the Taiwan Cooperative Bank sponsored a baseball contest among 4 teams, one Japanese and 3 Chinese, with proceeds in the amount of NT$ 131,238.00 contributed to goodwill account.

g. The U.S. ICE Follies International donated 2 day income of February 1 and 2, 1975 totalling NT$ 150,000.00 to goodwill account.

7. *Demonstration*

Among the nuclear communities of 345 townships and villages, the most successful ones, usually 3 or 4, will be sorted out for demonstration to the representatives of implementing agencies. It is hoped that through such demonstrations and interchange of working experience among the representatives, new ways and means to carry out this plan would be developed.

8. *Follow-up Guidance*

With a view to helping get the needy families out of poverty and prevent them from impoverishing again, the Regulations on Follow-up Guidance to Self-reliant Families have been put into practice. It is provided that follow-up guidance should be conducted from time to time until the self-reliant families stand on their own feet.

9. *Coordinations of Efforts of Schools*

The objectives, contents and working methods of this plan are all highly educational, involving not only action taking, but knowledge application. In order to develop the spirit of sympathy, enterprise, creativeness and patriotism of the youngsters, all public high schools will be encouraged to organize their students into voluntary service teams to help carry out this plan.

10. *Strengthening of Inspection and Coordination*

To ensure the effective implementation of this plan and to prevent the unexpected deviations in carrying out this plan, the inspectors are required to report once a month on what the lower level agencies have performed. The facts about either improvements or deviations found should be submitted to the Coordination Meetings for discussion before being passed on to these agencies for reference or for corrective actions.

VII. Achievements

Owing to the concerted efforts of implementing agencies as well as the enthusiastic supports from the public, remarkable achievements have been made since this plan was put into force three years ago. The most noticeable is the decrease in both the numbers of poor families and poor people which have dropped from 74,247 and 391,463 in 1971 to 25,726 and 103,952 at the present respectively.

Other results that have been obtained include:

1. Production loans: NT$ 37,708,500.00 benefitting 2,154 families.
2. Production tool loans: NT$ 4,382,000.00 with a total of 189 beneficiaries.
3. Vocational training: 18,846 persons.
4. Job placement: 41,011 persons.
5. Engaged in handicraft production (including family sidelines): 55,864 persons.
6. Education loans for students in colleges and senior vocational schools: 3,622 persons.
7. Scholarships for high school students: 15,922 persons.
8. Houses built and repaired: 11,471 units.
9. Family subsidies granted: 87,651 persons.
10. Free medical treatments
    a. Hospitalization and out patient treatment: 439,618 person/cases.
    b. Treatment by mobile units: 113,053 person/cases.
    c. Treatment by private hospitals: 253,383 person/cases.
11. Emergency assistance: 86,757 families.

VIII. Reviewing for Improvement

Although this plan has been carried out successfully in the past more than three years, there are still rooms for improvement. For instance:

1. The self-reliance spirit of the poor people has yet to be enhanced

Some poor people have still resigned themselves to fate. They had rather stay at home doing some unskillful works than receive vocational training. Neither do they expect to get employment. For this reason, further efforts have to be made to develop their self-reliance spirit.

2. The community efforts have yet to be strengthened

The majority of the 4,544 voluntary service teams have rendered meritorious services in helping the poor to improve their living conditions. However, as the members of these teams are mostly teachers and staffs of government agencies and voluntary bodies, it is undeniable that though enthusiastic, they are lacking professional knowledge on social work. Therefore, something have to be done in this respect.

As regards donations to the goodwill accounts, summing up to more than NT$ 70,000,000.00. further efforts have to be made in order to raise more funds.

IX. Conclusion

The Plan to Help the Needy is proved to be an effective measure to promote social security. Originally, it was planned to be completed in eight years. However, judged from the progress that have been made so far, it is very likely that this plan would come to a successful end in much shorter period if more support can be obatined from the public and more effort made by the government.

As the number of poor families has sharply decreased, the government is now prepared to extend the coverage of its assistance to low income people from next July, in the hope that the welfare of all the people on this island will be even more promoted.

We have the confidence that with the concerted efforts of the government and the society at large, poverty will no longer a problem in Taiwan.

THE SELF-EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Mrs Geraldine J. Veloso
Department of Social Welfare
Philippines

Our Excellency, The Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos once said:

> "We should seek to rebuild lives rather than perpetuate conditions of misery through Palliatives. Let us shed the image of paternalism and become instead a catalyst for a new and more meaningful way of life. Let us help the disadvantaged person rise out of his helpless conditions to a state of self-sufficiency. For men will possess the full enjoyment of dignity and independence only if delivered from poverty. They are capable of sustaining themselves with dignified work and full utilization of whatever talent they have."

The aim is not to create beggars but dignified self-reliant Filipino men and women for the new Society.

To elevate the rock-buttom poor, the starving, the homeless, the unclothed, the unschooled, the unskilled, the handicapped, the aging—pave the way out of poverty.

To ensure that the poorest of the poor shall henceforth participate in the benefits of development of their capacity for socio-economic advancement, the DSW has moved out from the "dole-out" of previous years and has come out with an integrated services for Self-Employment Assistance which aims to elevate the bread earner to a level of functioning where he could use the resources of agencies engaged in manpower training, cooperatives development and credit facilities for income producing projects. Also through non-interest loans, they are provided with capital that enables them to start income producing projects.

Self Employment Assistance Programs (SEAP) offers hopes, strength and security for the future of the Filipino people.

Through the SEAP, the individual and his family can look forward to:

—Increased income

—Improved lifestyle

—Increased capacity to make use of community resources especially banks, cooperatives, mini-agri

—Increased concern and participation and national affairs

How can one avail of the program?

—Applicant contacts the Department of Social Welfare worker of the locality.

—Assisted by the social worker, the applicant prepares and submits the feasibility study of the project planned.

—DSW Social Worker assesses feasibility of the project, applicants' interest and capability to undertake project, accomplishes forms for this purpose.

—If assessment is favorable, the Social Worker endorses the project proposal with the certificate of eligibility to the Department of Social Welfare provincial office.

If unfavorable, the applicant is helped by the Social Worker to meet the requirements.

Upon receipt of financial assistance, the applicant signs an agreement with the Department of Social Welfare to comply with Self Employment Assistance Program (SEAP) Policies, requirements on the rolling fund scheme, supervision by the Social Worker and others.

* How much Financial Assistance may be extended?

For individual projects: P300 or less depending upon the financial requirements of the projects.

For group projects: P300 or less per active group member depending upon the financial requirements of the project.,

For Youth group projects: P60.00 per youth member participating in the project. The group should have a minimum active membership of ten (10) youth.

* Who can be served through SEAP?

A. Needy Youth/Adults
   Belonging to poor families
   Disabled and special groups
   Physically handicapped: Blind, deaf-mute
   Orthopedically handicapped
   Released Prisoners
   Recovered drug dependents
   Recovered mental patients
   Mentally retarded
   Mendicants/aged
   Negative Hansenites
   Socially disadvantaged woman like victims of white slavery, etc.
   Cultural minorities
   Displaced families: Evacues, Squatters
   Victims of natural and man-made disasters such as: fires, typhoons, floods, tidal wave, earthquakes, social disorganization, etc.

B. Whose family per capital income is P50.00 and below in urban areas and P20.00 and below in rural areas, unable to get loans from any other agencies, Physically fit to engage in income-producing projects planned, willing to reside in their given home address for at least one year, willing to accept guidance from the DSW Social worker.

C. Whose intended projects are feasible

* What can you do?

—Sponsor an income producing project of a needy individual, family or group in the community.

—Convince your organization, club or associations to sponsor income-producing projects.

—Make available your expertise.

—Patronize products of SEAP assisted projects

—Contact the DSW Social Workers of your community—now.

Let us join our efforts to break this cycle of poverty—for at no time have the needs been so great, the challenges so staggering. . . .

AN EVALUATION ON THE HSIAO-KANG (WELL-TO-DO) PROGRAM OF ELIMINATING POVERTY

Prof. Hsiu-hsiung Bai
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Hsiao-kang (well-to-do or anti-poverty) program is an important project that the Taiwan Provincial Government has intended to carry out. It is a social policy which is prescribed in the Dr. Sun yat-shen's Livelihood Principle. Its goal is to reach an equal wealth well-to-do society. Not only it gives negatively assitance to the poor; but also to eliminate positively the factors which cause the poverty. It is to improve generally the environment of the production to distribute justly the social production and to shorten the gap of the rich and the poor that the well-to-do can generally be benefited by the poor on laying down the foundation of the future cosmopolitain society.

1. Origin of the Program.

From 1975 on, the Government following the Instructions of the late president CHIANG Kai-shek has used part of the land tax and the land value-increasing tax levied by implementing the Urban equalization of land-ownership regulations to form a special social welfare fund. Its purpose is to carry out by all means the reinforced social welfare mesures in a way that the living standard of the poor shall be improved and that the total number of the poor family and individual shall be reduced. It has been proved that the efforts made by the Government in this regard are rather successful. But as a matter of fact the problem of poverty-being inevitable in the course of transition from the agricultural society to a industrial one has not been disappeared.

According to an investigation made by the local administrative officers and checked by the colleges students majoring in sociology the figure shows that there were 74,247 poor family of first, second and third class and 391,463 poor individual in 1971.

On 16th June 1972 When premier CHIANG Chin-kuo made his tour of inspection on the Taiwan Provincial Government, he instructed specially that the right way to help the poor is to assist and advise them actively to produce and to get a job than let them to wait for help; but to those who are old and physically incapable to work, it is the responsibility of the government to take care of them. The Governor HSIEH is of the opinion that to aid negatively the poor is only to survive, it can neither change the poor's situation nor to prevent the poverty from occuring. It is the positive mesures which are capable to diminish the poverty and to bring them to a better living. The Department of Social Affairs, following the above instructions, has drafted the Hsiao-kang (well-to-do or anty-poverty) Program [1]. The Program ratified by the Committee of the Taiwan Provincial Government in its 1170 Session on 23 October 1972, has entered into force on the eve of the 34th anniversary of Taiwan Recovery Day, Oct. 25, 1972 [2].

2. Conception and Contents of the Program.

1. Conception of the Program.

The Program, taking account of both the purpose and methods, the positive and negative means, aims at 1) giving assitance and advice to the poor in order to help them to do the productive work and to be employed; 2) giving special aid and proper care to the old, the weak and the handicapped. In practice, measures are to be adopted according to the real need of the poor: "aid", "settlement," "production", "employment," and "training and education" and the goal of the Program has also been divided into long distance, middle distance and short distance. It is estimated that in eight years, the present 70,000 poor family and 390,000 poor individual, fully employed, will be able to rely on themselves, to participate, with diligence and determination, the productive work, to create the prosperity, to leave gradually from the poverty and fulfill finally the idea of Hsiao-kang. However, in the mean time, Government try to prevent any new poor family from appearing. In the proceeding of the Program, emphasis should be made on expanding the spirit of team work between the governments of different instances, developing the spirit of social benevolence, instigating the spirit of self-reliance. After all, with a proper press communication, a due coordination of the above measures is indispensable to make a success.

2. Contents of the Program.

There are nine items in the Hsiao-kang Program: 1). Expanding relief, accommodation and bring-up; 2). Helping and advising to do the productive work; 3). Helping and advising to get employed; 4). job-training; 5). Building houses for the poor; 6). Directing the birth control; 7). Helping and advising to receive education; 8). Expanding the productive and welfare work of the community and 9). Motivating the social force to cope with the relief movement.

1. In the negative aspect: To expand the relief, accommodation and bring-up in view that all the poor of the first class could be taken care of; the poor of the second and the third class—suffered handicap, chronic dieases, idiocy and mental derangement could all be settled. A medical care is also availabe to help the poor possessing the working ability to restore rapidly.

2. In the positive aspect: 1). Education and training—To help the eligible children to go to school to provide them with the educational loans, to encourage them to enter into vocational school. As to the adult, to persuade them to follow the supplementary education and to provide them with a job-training, in cooperation with the industrial, commercial or agricultural schools and the industrial and commercial enterprises, in view that they could all possess a special talent to get easily a job; 2). To help and to advise them to obtain an employment—To help and advise the poor, with working capacity to obtain a job according to their capacity and interest; 3). To help and to advise them to engage in the productive activity—providing the poor with small credit, promoting the home subsidiary business and helping and advising the poor with working capacity to engage in the agricultural, fishing, cattle-breeding, trading and handicraft production activity; 4). Building houses for the poor—Building

or repairing the poor man's house to cope with the original building site belonged to the community or to the poor, in order to improve their habitation environment; 5). Preventing the new poor family from occuring—Organizing the benevolent working team to direct and improve the public health as well as the preventive measures against diseases; reinforce the emergent assistance and arrange the accommodations for the mental derangements.

3. *Other Supplementary Measures*: Establishing the benevolent account, benevolent post box and benevolent working team.

In order to develop the social benevolence, to organize the grouping force, to help the government to expand the Hsiao-kang Program, a benevolent account, a benevolent post box and a benevolent working team shall specialy be established, with the view of gaining, through this organization and measures to attain the prescribed goal.

—The benevolent account.

To receive regularly from the government organizations, schools, groups, companies and shops, enterprises as well as the individuals, the funds which shall be used as the special fund for the Hsiao-kang Program and a special account shall be opened for this purpose. It is to be noted that all kinds of contribution shall not be compulsory; distribution against the will shall strictly be forbidden.

—The benevolent post box:

To accept voluntarily all kinds of proposition and criticism in regard of the implementation of the Hsiao-kang Program of the Taiwan Provincial Government and welcome any offer of providing technical training, or any working opportunity, all the propositions and criticisms shall be duly referred by a working commission.

—The benevolent working team:

To motivate the people enthusiastic to the public welfare, the employees of the governmental organizations, the teachers and students of the schools to organize the team, ready to serve and out of remuneration. The beneficiary shall be the poor of the first, second and third class, registered in the district; county, village and city. The members of the working team take advantage of their vacation to the poor's family; in view to understand, to explors and try to solve the problems. In case, if the local public or private relief benevolent institutions are avilable to provide with any service, proper measures shall be arranged to go through with the Program.

3. The Important Results:

—In 1971, there were 74,249 poor family, the number has been reduced to the present 25,729; at the same time, the number of the poor 391,463 has been reduced to the present 103,952 [3].

Loans for creating business: 1,560 poor family benefited, the total amount is of $26,329,000 N. T.

—Loans for productive instruments: 189 persons benefited, the total amount is of $4,382,000 N. T.

—Job training: 16,686 persons benefited.

—To help and to advise to obtain an employment: 33,029 persons benefited.

—Loans of the educational fee for the poor children to attend the senior voca-

tional school, college and university: 3,622 students benefited. There are 15,762 students attending either senior high or junior high school receive a scholarship.
—House construction and reparation: 11,471 family benefited.
—House subsidy: 87,651 persons benefited.
—Free medical treatment: 10,637 persons hospitalized, 348,049 persons receive out-patient service, 113,053 persons receive the circulating medical care, voluntary treatment 253,383 times.
—Emergent assistance: 37,997 family benefited.

4. Theoretical Basis and Characteristics of the Hsiao-kang Program.

Firstly, The Program emphasizes on the improvement of the environment: The first strategy to abolish the poverty is to improve the environment, by means of which the living standard can be raised and the conditions of the bad house, education and recreation services can also be ameliorated. Acknowledging that the poverty is an inevitable by-product of a transitionary society, changing from agricultural soceity to that of the industrial, the program is to promote the education, to improve the habitation environment, the medical treatment and the recreation services. Mr. Marris and Reins in their book "Dilemma of Social Reform" reaffirm that the poor environment is the major cause of the self-perpetuating cycle. It is only by getting rid of this factor that the poverty can be abolished. The well-to-do (Anti-poverty) program, having maintained 'Houses construction for the poor" as its primary object, has paid due attention to the improvement of the "environment."

Secondly, The Program emphasizes on the manpower investment: It is to go through by means of education, sanitation and employment that the financial situation of the poor could be improved. The development of the manpower is much more effective than the redistribution of the wealth and the income. Not only it can abolish the unequality but also to shorten the gap between the rich and the poor. It is for this reason that the Program has made emphasis on the vocational training and assistance.

Thirdly, The redistribution of the income: It is by means of progressive rate and collection that part of the high income could be transferred to the lower income class from which derived "the benevolent foundation". But it is to be noted that the foundation shall not be managed in a way to aggravate the poors sentiment of reliance.

Fourthly, Reconstruction: To reestablish the soical function of the poor by using the pyschological or socio-psychological methods. The purpose of reconstruction is to impede the family from decomposition and social dispersion, in another word, it is to cultivate a right value system, a better living habit that the individual personality can be perfected and that family can be harmonized. The benevolent working team of the Program, influencing the poor by the zeal and sympathy, can probably reconstruct the sound mentality of the poor.

Fifthly, Participation: To encourage the poor to participate in the social activity, so that their inferiority complex could be reduced. The inner cause of the poverty is the sense of inferiority complex and isolation which keep them away from the society, but this can not but worsen their poor situation. The development of the community program in cooperation with that of the Program would increase the opportunity of the poor to participate in the regular social activity, and allow their opinions be expressed and respected.

Sixthly, Collective and selective economic measures: It is by means of tax-exemption, loan and assistance to production that the poor can be stimulated to do the productive work. The selective measures would benefit directly the poor through the vocational instructions and the raise of the minimum wage. As a matter of fact, a lot of measures in the Program did put into effect in this regard [5].

It would appear, through the above explanation that the theoretical basis of the Program is rather firm. It leave us now to ask what are its characteristics. From a general point of view, the world current social welfare measures and anti-poverty policy in comparing with our country's special situation, the Program own five characteristics:

1. *Certainty*: The contents of the Program were established according to the social policy prescribed in the Livelihood principle in the present stage, conferrable to the teachings of the late Dr Sun Yat-sen,and the late president Chiang Kai-shek's "Two chapters *Yu* and *Lo* (bringing up and recreation) supplementary to the Livelihood principle".

2. *Progressiveness:* Not only the Program helps negatively the poor but also it puts it off the cause of poverty. For example, directing the brith contrl, promoting the family plan, organizing the technical training, providing the working opportunity and loan, encouraging home subsidiary business etc. In other word, it uses every effective means to compensate the poor's lack of education and technical training as well as their short of capital. In accomplishing the above measures, the poor would be able to rely on themselves, govern themselves and being independant and vigorous, the self-perpetuating cycle shall thus be broken down. Consequently, many people, living on relief, will become the producer creating the social wealth and contributing to the national economy.

3. *Practicality*: Being endowed with the idea and goal, the Program has its own methods and procedures. Besides the relative large budget of social welfare as the source of its foundation, the benevolent account, largely financed by the diverse contributions, enhance the fund. The establishment of the benevolent postbox assemble the most valuable propositions and recommendations, and put together the group force to avail the implementation of the Program. The establishment of the benevolent working team is to develop the benevolent spirit and to assist the government to take care of the poor.

4. *Generality:* The Program puts emphasis on motivation the social group force and that of the government and its people for establishing a Hsiao-kang society. All people could endeavour themselves by way of contribution or participation to the voluntary service work. It is significant to notice that the implementation process of the program has changed the social service to become everybody's business.

5. *Integrity*: The program is composed of variety of items, from the first aide to the settlement, production, employment as well as the educational training. Not only it provides the idea and goal; but also the methods and procedures. In fact nearly every important point like the division of the program, executive officers, source of the fund, executive agency are entirely prepared. It is quite noticeable that the contents of the Program are concret and integrated.

5. Conclusions and Propositions.

The social policy in the present stage, prescribed in the Livelihood Principle, has placed the community development as one of the seven most important measures of social welfare. On 12th November 1973, Premier CHIANG in his working report to the ruling party's tenth session of the fourth Central Committee, instructed "I wish that the Hsiao-kang Program, carried out in the present by the provincial and municipal governments would become the first step to abolish the poverty. We should also promote in all respect the welfare of the children, women, labourers, farmers and fishers with the view that the rock of the social security would be found on the strong base of all peoples happiness and peace" he added "We have also noticed that social reconstruction work must be started from the bottom. To motivate the community development and to encourage the community inhabitants, provided with zeal and determination to put forth their manpower, property, materials in cope with the local administrative measures with the purpose of ameliorating the living environment and ways of living. This is not only the best foundation for the basic livelihood reconstruction; but also the best experience for the Self-governing [6].

The term "community development" is an English expression, as the term itself indicate, it begins from the community through a understanding of the social problem and the social need, a mobilization of all kinds of resources in cope with the outside assistance to solve the community problem and to satisfy the soical need. It is the way that the welfare of the community shall be promoted[7].

Since the term of the community development has been widely employed after the Second World War, when the nationalism was at its height, the British Empire's colonies in Asia and Africa were seeking independance all at a sudden. The tide was impossible to resist. Since the English used to adopt the "booboisie policy" which had resulted in the backwardness of her colonies. Being afraid that the communism would take advantage of local ignorance and poverty to facilitate the infiltration, the English government decided to use the method of Mass Education to expediate the development of her colony. In 1944, in a report on "Mass Education in the African Society", the educational Consultative Committee of Her Majesty's cabinet indicated that the signification of the Mass Education was to concentrate the Attentions on the whole community as a educational unit, with the purpose to allow the inhabitants living in this community, to acknowledge its economic change, then they would have interest in being able to understand, to participate and at last to control the situation in their hand. But it is until 1949 that "community development" was to be accepted. In 1955, The United Nations published an important document titled "Social progress through community development" which refers the community development as a process of promoting the community economic and social progress through the participation of all the people in the community and through the full development of their creative energy [8]. "Community Development & Economic Development" published in 1960 by the U.N. as well, refers the community development as a process through which the people improve the economic, social and the cultural environment by using their own force in cope with the government authority. It is composed of two elements in this process, the one is to improve the living standard by people's own creative power; and the other is that the government motivate and develop the people's self-consciousness, self-incentiveness and self-government by giving technical assistance and other services [9]. In same year, The U.N. Department of Economic and Social Affairs published a book titled "Community Development and Related Services" which refers the "Community Development" as a process through which the people themselves in coordination with the government authority engage in the amelioration of the community economy as well as the social and cultural conditions. They combine also the community life with that of their country—a process that they could make their greatest effort to the progress of their country. This complex process is composed of two elements, the one is that the people themselves, with an active, spontaneous sense, take part in the improvement of their living standard; the other is to encourage the spirit of self-motivation, self-help and cooperation and to expand these spirits, in addition, to provide the techniques and other services. As to the people in general, the community development is as educational and organizational process. The community development is an educational process because it intends to change the attitude and the habits which impede the social and economic progress, instead, it encourages the attitude which favor the progress. Broadly speaking, it is to raise the peoples capability to meet with the change. . . . Although, certain material constructions (like constructing the road, or digging a well) are no less important, however, it is more important to obtain a change resulted in the attitude and relation, for the change raise up the dignity of the personality, and promote the ability of the people to pursuit restless their prescribed goal.

That's why community development is called an educational process; this is the main point. Community development to be called a organized process is not only for its Collective action taken by the people to seek their mutual benefits, but also for it needs to renew the present organizations or to recognize other new units instead in order to make the self-helping work of the people to its best functioning. . . . To organize the people is not only helping them to accomplish certain practical achievement; but it is also a kind of tribute to increase the force of solidarity for the society. [10]

From the above mentioned principles of social policy and the Premier Chiang's instructions; that the community is a kind of working method, process, plan and movement; It is also a sort of the combined social welfare measures. In other word, it takes the whole community as its objective to develop various social benefits, which includes assistance of the poverty, schooling, medical care, employment, and the assistant programs to take care of children, aged and disable persons. The way to be taken has its reasons: One of the reasons is that the communities, like person to person, have its own different problems, needs, And the community's situation or resources, are all not the same. Therefore we take a community as an object, the inhabitants in the community will decide how to make the development plan according to their community's needs, problems, situation and resources. For the local inhabitants understand what they need; Then, the development programs planed by the community's own hands are more suitable and acceptable by the locals. When the U.S. government, from Johnson to Ford's administration, was undertaking the most important article——Community Action Program of its Anti-poverty Operation. They also took the community development as a process to move every sorts of Anti-poverty activities; They let the local inhabitants planning themselves, moving themselves. From children to the aged person, they divided; 1) Project Head Start, 2)

Health Center, 3) Legal Service, 4) Upward bound, 5) Migrant & Seasonal Farm Workers, 6) Foster Grandparents Program. The another reason is that the inhabitants in the same community are living together. They are closely related each other. They share same honour and disgrace. They have the same habits and customs. It is easily from them to produce mutual psychological connection and establish a common objective. At the same time, they can easily help each other and look after each other when ones in trouble and need help. So, taking the community as an object to mobilize the people's force and devoted it to the anti-poverty work will have a "duoble achievements with a single effort". As how to coordinate the social policy with the Hsiao-Kang (Anti-poverty) plan and the community development, we suggest as the followings:

(1) The social policy and Hsiao-kang plan as well as the community development aimed mainly to strengthen the civil force of the whole society. It has to be done to its best with the steps that "The rich gives his money and the others give their strength". Besides the necessary propaganda and encouragment, the government has to establish quickly the objective and its working steps, to publish a practical and workable schedule: And the original laws and regulations in favor of the tax-free encouragment has to be modified for the new development In order to emphasize an idea to the whole society that donation for the public interests is the best way to spend for the riches' money: Otherwise their tax payment will be multiplied. In U.S. the donation for charity raised 22 billion in last year; We can see that the contribution from local people is highly and great in amount. Meanwhile, the system for voluntarily working service has to be established in time. In order to organize completely the zealous members in the society especially those well educated youth who are willing to serve the society and make benefits for mankind, and these two measures must properly taken in coordinate with the community development. Taking donation as an example the Community Chests in the western country not only function well their fund-raising work and make people willingly to take out their money and possessions, but also they take charge the general design works of the community benefits, such as the United action, coordination and coorperation, balance development, and standard. However the voluntary service must be connected with the community development, then the operation can be existing and working longer and deeper. Allowing the local inhabitants to be the volunteer is not only saving money and time, it is also for those who know well the local history, culture and other backgrounds. The work can be well-done with less efforts. Practically speaking, if the works of the Jen-Ai (Fraternity) Team or the An-Kang Team are subjected to community, and let the local inhabitants organize the teams to take care the needs and problems in the community, the results will be much better.

From the year 1765 to 1832, Germany had adopted, former and later Hamburg System and Elberfeld System calling people to join the community service work, and the later was highly praised by the world. The way is that the inhabitants of every district organized a volunteer commission in charge of assistance and distribution work; and the most of volunteers are local rich citizens. They look after the poor whom they are assigned to take care with great enthusiasm; They render their money, cloths, food, distributed to the poor. Furthermore, they specially emphasize their moral influence over those people in order to change their living method. This system in one field can save the budget; And other field, it can promote a kind of spirit for people to devote themselves in the voluntary service; At the same time, that the local people handle the local affaires will be easier to know the whole situation, and make the job be worked much easier and smooth. It is also for these men who are since elected from the local, their relation with the quarter is certainly closer than that of those professional personnel, and know better the social, cultural, economic and historical background of the local community.

(2) Community development is a organizational process. The special attention will be paid on cultivating the ability of self-sensation and self-governing. Social policy and the movement of Hsiao-kang poverty plan must be closely coordinated with the community development. It help the local people to organize themselve to solve their own problems with the common efforts. It also wants to assist the local inhabitant for designing the developing project and gives them support for implementation. In case, the community inhabitants do not want to organize plan, implement at all, they are merely dependent, negative and pessimistic; Then the work certainly can not be lasting longer and be founded deeper.

(3) To establish the community worked system in order to develop the various active anti-poverty measures in accordance with community development; And the sufficient service will be provided by means of utilizing the special knowledge and method of social policy. The objective of social policy and the Hsiao-kang (Anti-poverty) plan is man; And man's behaviour is in state of changing. Therefore, that only the personnel who have received the special education and training can meet their needs and provide them with good service. We are expecting that the poor would be quickly independent and work actively for their sanitation. There is quite different between the methods of punishment and encouragment. We all know that in the old time, the western states, the poverty assistance work was full of punishment, restraint, disgrace. The result was bad. It has already been washed out. Today, the poor has to be treated like a man. We have to understand their situation and try to improve it.

(4) Implementation of social policy and the Hsiao-Kang (Anti-poverty) should be accomplished with the community development measures. So, the social policy and the Hsiao-kang plan need to be exercised with the common efforts of both government and people; It requires government branches to high their esprit-deccorps, be alert on their own position and struggle for the common objective; it particularly needs the support and participation of the inhabitants in the community. Otherwise, the people in the region do not know the detail of the plan and its meaning, they will ignore it and stand off it. The social policy and the Hsiao-kang (Anti-poverty) plan will be deeply influenced and can't finish the work.

(5) It has to use the method of the community development and encourage the inhabitants to participate the plan: Then, their sense of responsibility can be cultivated and they will actively devote themselves to working for social policy and the Hsiao-Kang (Anti-poverty) plan and maintain its achievements.

(6) Besides the public constructions, the community also pay their attention to the moral and spiritual establishments, the productions and welfare in order to make the inhabitants having a sense of the community and a good manner of living; and to meet their practical living requirements. The welfare installations of livelihood should

be established; That includes the works like technical training, spare time jobs, assistance to the poverty and employment, nursery and day-care center installations, the promotion of family sanitation, and the birth control plan, etc. These works are all moved by the inhabitants themselves and acted by themselves. In accordance with the limited government budget, it solves the community's problem; And let the jobless persons be hired, students have their schools, the sickness be cured, the elder be settled and cared; It takes the active production instead of assistance making them have more incomes, living be improved and get rid of poverty. For example, under the government's encouragment the mountain community has broadly planted trees, the living of the mountain inhabitants has since then been greatly improved. If social policy and the Shiao-Kang (Well-to-do) plan can be developed in accordance with the community development to improve, spiritual moral, production and walfare constructions, actively guiding inhabitants to take some production work, to increase their wealth, to promote their living manners, customs, in order to meet the requirement of the modern life, the equivalent Hsiao-Kang (Well-to-do) society will be more easily arrived.

M. B. Clinard, the professor of the University of Wisconsin, in his book—Slums and Community Development—has pointed out, with the pratical experiences gained from Delhi city, India, where he was working as an adviser of the city community development, that only community development can help to solve the slums problems. After he studies the slum of the city with the historical method of analysis and the regional comparison, he believes that the slum is a social and cultural Phenomena. It is also a kind of living type. The slum indicates a difficult and hard life, a poor possession and installation. In a crowded and dirty room, being a agonizing and bad behavoir and ignorant character the psychological state, the most inhabitants are ignorant, revengeful and suspecting. They like fighting, trouble making, looking for excitement and indulging in laziness; Because of lacking selfconfidence, they are indulging in isolated and hopeless situation. So, he believes that slum problems can not only be solved by the social welfare program or economic opportunity of employment. He proposes to develop the self-educational system for training the local personnels, establishing new model organizations, giving them the sense of honour in order to call them up to struggle for the desire of a new life, whenever the time comes. However, he thinks that the principles and methods of community development could be used as a way to solve the slum's problems. Taking the experimental plan of the community development of slum in the Delhi city, India as an example, combining all situation in Indian slums, the detail of that plan, organization, the results and the practicing experiences. We can conclude it as the following points; (A) Calling for the sense of community. (B) To make the community self-helping. (C) Training the local people (D) To connect with the government support activities. Regarding to the detail of the operation, it will be undertaking from the fields of economy, education, culture, sanitation and welfare, etc. These could be called a "Complex prescription"; But this "Medical advisor" does not want to prescribe it directly; He proposed to the public only a self-consultation and to cure themselves. In the conclusion of his review and discusion, he also stress on the points of the changing of the inhabitants, idea and the success of their behavoirs and status—like the inhabitants become expectant from ignorant; And become organizable actively from dependent, etc. Though the influence is limited, it is at least that provides the local government with the way pointing to the basic action and long range objective of improvement.[11]

Anti-Poverty has become the important part of the social welfare programs of every country in the world. Therefore, all governments have engaged themselves actively to the welfare programs in connected with economic development, encouraging the investments to open factories, and establish large scale public constructions, actively creating more opportunities of employment. In accordance with the education development program, the graduates would be hired right after they finish their schooling; and according to the population raising rate, the education and training programs should be planed, in order to make people be fully employed. Meantime, it is with the financial policy, local currency policy; and long range economic plan, that the economy raising rate will be accelerated; and the objective of the fully employment will be realized. To promote employment service, training people working skills, inspiring people like to go to work, are the measures that should be taken in order to make man can his talents be devoted; and also one can be settled with a position he assigned; Moreover, with unemployment insurance and unemployment allowance, their income will be maintained. Besides, the guaranteed minimun income and the state as the employer of last resort programs can make every ones immunize themselves from falling to poverty.

Meanwhile, with the results from social scientists studies and researchs in recent years, the conclusion is that it is decided by the social and economic elements. Therefore, poverty is a social problem and it is also a economic problem; In addition to the above two elements, it has also its psychological compositions. There are great influence from psychological and economic fields. So, we realize that how to improve the psychological state in a healthy and normal condition is the first step we should take. What is the psychological characteristics of the poor? Because of the recent development of Behavior Sciences, psychologist, social scientists, the medical and spiritual workers all think there is a new approach to study poverty and to get rid of poverty: that is the psychological characteristics of the poor.

V.L. Allen in his "Personality Correlates of Poverty", has pointed out that personality of the poor has the following charateristics:

1. Lower self-concept: It means to lower one's own sense of value and its self-respect; therefore his social learning is slower.
2. Achievement motivation is very low.
3. The ability to fulfill a lately desire is low; it means that the judging ability to a further action for the better investment and greater satisfaction is low.
4. For time perspective: The desire for seeking a long range plan and greater satisfaction is weak.
5. Mental Illness: The pressure of livelihood has greatly influenced on their mind; especially those illness like nerve depression, nerve breakdown, are highly rated.[12]

The poor seems always to live from hand to mouth. They concentrate their mind on the present shortage only. They almost have never thought about their future. Though, there is opportunity to save their earnings, they seem do not like to do it. Whenever their income is more than needs, they rather to spend it on their wine glass. The thinking of that "there is wine there is drunk" is really serious.[13]

Prof Lee, Chang Kwei, a scholar in the field of psychological state of the poor in our country at present time once learned from 3,453 families the investigation taken by Tainan City Government, he is drawn to study with great interesting on the manner and behavior doing formed from experience out of "poverty" with the living environment of the poor. For instance, the concept of assistance to the poor, the concept of the relation among people, culture concept, and the concept of the future expectation, are all studied trying to find out how they are influenced by poverty; and the study results point out: [14]

1. The poor tends to accept all kinds of assistance with any types.
2. Half number of the poor are lowerly estimated by themselves.
3. Most part of the poor feel that they are disgusted.
4. The poor tends to shift the cause of poverty to fate.
5. The poor does not warmly hold his future expectation.

A healthy minded person should be: (A). To face difficulty and overcome difficulty. (B). Not to escape difficulty neither shift it to others. (C). Be responsible not easily rely on others. (D). Be able to make choice and decision. (E). Be gladly getting along with others and enjoy it with efficiency and satisfaction. (F). Be able to share the living with others. (G). Be able to take the work within his own share. (H). Enjoy life and be able to love and to be loved. [15] To compare with these points and that of above mentioned, we certainly know that the poor is not healthy minded.

How to make the poor be healthy minded? Of course, there are many ways; But I think the following points are more important:

1. Psychologists think that the psychological improvement should be started from childhood. [16] But the mental state of children who are brought up in a poor environment is not healthy already.

Seligman, studying on children from slums, has pointed out that the children brought up from a poor environment are lower in their ability to work for the future than that of those normal ones. [17]

Prof. Sheppars points it out also that the children brought up from the poor environment are greatly influenced on their personality development, with the neglected experiences they were impressed from their childhood. [18]

Therefore, that having the children from the poor family left the poor environment in a early stage is the basic way to make them be "immune" of the sick minded we discussed before.

Prof. Galbraith believes that the first step to solve poverty problem is to prevent it be inherited from generation to generation. [19] They should be taken away from the poor environment (not away from their parents) at time when they are in childhood, in order to make them be healthy minded. "If we must eliminate poverty completly, we are supposed to invest a lots of money for the childern of poor society". [20]

In the United States the Project Head Start was aimed to provide children with preparataoy learning experience, nutrient treatment, medical service, in order to achieve its purpose to take childern away from the poor environment, cultivating their personality of self confidence, self-respect, to have them on a equal starting point struggling fairly with those who are from the rich family whenever start their schooling. This is also the instructions of Dr. Sun Yet-sen, the Founder of The Republic of China, that says "Equality with the same starting point".; And we could say that project Head Start before schooling is the one of methods of psychological improvement of childern.

2. In the year of 1945, Alinsky, from his observation of activities of the poor has also described ignorance, dependent, as the characteristics of the poor. He believes that the poor is caused by being lost their shortage of the position which is represented by "material and economy". They shoulder the social and economic pressures, being pressed, ignored, disgraced; However, their characteristics are then formed. It should be improved by means of sociotherapy, in order to make them participate and mixed with those influencing people of society. They are provided with opportunities to be confronted against those people and have the chance to express their unsatisfactions. After then, they will be guided to establish their personality of self-respect and that of independance. The motivation of assistance of the poor is to inspire their new expectation and the way to abolish poverty is also started from the work of psychological improvement.

In fact, the study and research of poverty problem in the modern society has almost arrived to its top trend. There include anthropologists, economists, sociologists, psychologists, psychoanalysts, and social workers are all studying with the different methods the situation of the poor and its living objectives. It emphasizes, on its culture characteristics in the modern society, and it also to analysis their patterns of behavior, motivation, value systems, social learning; there are many discoveries and contributions. There are many terms as the culture of poverty, sociology of poverty, anthropology of poverty, are being circulated in the world.[23]

Oscar Lewis, anthropologist, in his book "Five Families (1959)" has created a new term—Subculture of poverty. He used to call it "culture of poverty". Culture of poverty belongs to a subculture of the western society and it has its special structure, theory and its history. Lewis has listed seventy characteristics of this culture in the social, economic, psychological fields. In the economic field: culture of poverty means continuous struggle for living, jobless and shortage caused by unemployment, poor payment, not skilled and not specialized profession, shortage of food storage, "money in money out", and almost no savings and allways put their possessions for sale. The other social and psychological characteristics are crowded residence, no secret for public life, high rate of alcoholism, causing trouble by force, punishing childern, beating wife, and early connected with sexual problems, marriage without reliability, the high rate of the abandoned families, mother trends to become the center of the family, more familier with the relatives from mother side, etc.

In the psychological field: Lewis thinks that the important elements are "Feeling of Marginality", and usually has feeling of not belonging. For the social system, government and politician, they always hold a counter attitude against them. Generally speaking, they lack the sense of security but they have the spirit of adventure—some, meanwhile, culture of poverty, with its born needs and desire for adventure has produced kind of special characters in culture and psychological feelds—warmly seeking for enjoyment of senses and excitement, and because of "feeling of not belonging", they are always suspecting, outcast, careless, and even teasing, jealous, revenging behaviors. They feel inferior of themselves, and be hopless, abandoned, not being accepted, rejecting their own efforts, lacking self-respect, be abandoned themselves. They, however, like Durkhein's thinking formed the "Anomie Sub-culture". Once this kind of culture is existed, it is hard to be abolished; and it will be inherited from generation to generations. [25]

It is rare to study the problem of poverty from the fields of Behavior and Social sciences in this country. I think that it is better to take it with an inter-disciplinary approach in the devotion to study the psychological characteristics, pattern of behavior of the poor and culture of poverty. With the results submited to the decision maker, the work will be significant and meaningful. And it would be great contribution to the effort to eliminate poverty in this island.

FOOTNOTES

(1) See *"Grounds for the Program of "Hsiao-kang Program"* adopted by the Committee reinforce of Taiwan Provincial Government in its 1170 session on 34rd Oct. 1972.

(2) See *"Collection of Essaies on Reconstruction of Taiwan Protvince* 10) "How to reinforce the expansion of Hsiao-Kang Program", p. 2, ed. Office of Information, Taiwan Provincial Government, Feb. 1975; and see also W. L. WANG, "*From the social assistance to the Hsiao-Kang Program*" in "*Thirty years since Taiwan's recovery*", pp. 4–16, ed. Inf. Ofc., Oct. 1975.

(3) See the map on "The Curve of the Poor Individual, and Family in Taiwan in Recent Years", Hsiu-hsiung Bai, *A Comparative Study on Social Welfare in Sweden, U.S.A. & R.O.C.* Chapter 7, 1976. Taipei.

(4) See "*Report on the promotion of Hsiao-Kang Program*" made by C.D. HSU, Director of the Department of Social Affairs, Taiwan Provincial Government, to the R.O.C.'s Seminar on Social Welfare", on 26th March 1976.

(5) Documents cited from. C.H. Fang in "*The Theoretical Basis of Hsiao-kang Program*", pp. 41–42; W. L. Wang, "The beneficiary of the Hsiao-Kang Program should be enlarged", Collection, of Essays of Reconstruction of Taiwan Province, 10, Op. Cit., pp. 45–46.

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(18) Sheppars Harold L., "*The Poverty of Aging & The Young Who are Poor.*" p. 21.

(19) John K. Galbraith, "*The Affluent Society*," Houghton-Mifflin. Boston, 1958.

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(21) Documents cited from C. K. Lee's "*On Poverty and the Policy to Abolish the Poverty*", Journal of Social Development Quarterly, No. 13 p. 47.

(22) Y. L. Liao, "*The View Point of the Poor and the Prefessional toward the Poverty and Service to the Poor*", Journal of Sociology, Taiwan Univ. No. 11, July 1975, p. 94.

(23) M. L. Cheng, "*Research on the Poverty Problems*", Thought and Saying Bimonthly, vol. 12, No. 3, Sep. 1974, pp. 1–6 Other references on poverty of culture, in the field & Sociology, Anthropology and Psychology, please read: Allen, V.L. 1970. (ed) *Psychological Factors in Poverty*. Markham Publishing Co., Lewis, O. 1951 *Life in a Mexican Village*: Tepotzlan Restudied
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PERIODIC & PERMANENT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

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Australia is a wealthy country. But, like other rich nations, a significant proportion of its population is poor. Their poverty cannot be directly compared in either money or welfare terms with the poverty experienced by the vast majority of the peoples of the developing world. Nevertheless, relative to the cost and standard of living of the majority, a minority of Australia's population suffers severe deprivation. Thus, somewhere round about 10 per cent of the population are considered to be below the 'poverty line', a base level related to 60 per cent of average earnings and adjusted for the size of family, stage in the family cycle[1], and composition of the household.

The original inhabitants of Australia—the Aborigines—and some people living in rural areas, are particularly prone to suffer from poverty in Australia. Many Aborigines still live in rural areas and they, together with farmers on small farms and other agriculturally dependent rural workers are affected by the cyclical nature of profits in agriculture under the influence of frequent fluctuations in the prices of agricultural products on world markets. Studies in Australia have shown that incomes in agriculture fluctuate much more widely from year to year than those in other industries and occupations. [1a] This income fluctuation thus gives rise to *periodic poverty* amongst a proportion of farmers and others dependent, directly or indirectly, on farming for their livelihood. With each bout of *periodic poverty*, a proportion of the hardest hit sector of the rural population are forced into *permanent poverty* not accessible to improvement when prices for agricultural products turn upwards again.

This paper relates to the processes whereby *periodic* and *permanent poverty* are generated in the rural areas of Australia and discusses appropriate strategies for its alleviation. In speaking to the paper at the Seminar, an attempt will be made to relate its findings to some of the problems of poverty in the developing world.

The two publications on which most of this paper is based were:

Financial Aspects of Rural Poverty

'Poverty amongst farmers in N.S.W. & Queensland'. Musgrave, Rickards & Whan, Dept. of Agricultural Economics & Business Management, U.N.E., A.G.P.S., Canberra, 1975.

Rural Poverty in Northern N.S.W.

Dept. of Sociology team, U.N.E., A.G.P.S., Canberra, 1974.

These two studies from the University of New England were undertaken separately by the two departments concerned after consultations at which we agreed on a division of labour. The agricultural economists would concentrate on financial aspects based on survey data already available, together with data from three small-scale surveys of districts in which poverty was considered to be prevalent. The sociologists would draw on data from two studies which had been undertaken by the Department of Sociology into Mobility of North Coast Dairy Farmers, and into Welfare Provision for Aborigines, and from one study carried out during the rural depression in 1971 by Yates into sociological implications of the economic depression in the wool industry.

Categorisation of Rural Poverty

Independently, and using different data bases and different disciplinary orientations, the two University of New England departments arrived at very similar categorisations of rural poverty. The agricultural economists distinguished between three types of rural poverty:

Type A—poverty resulting from inadequate resources.

Type B—poverty of a temporary nature caused by a short term fall in prices of adverse seasonal conditions.

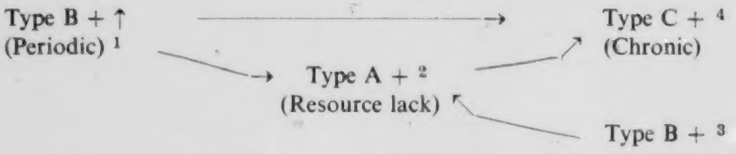
Type C—poverty which is widespread in an industry and related to structural inadequacies of the industry.[2]

The sociologists recognized two broad groupings of rural poverty.

> '*Periodic rural poverty* . . . . . occurs when prices or levels of production fall to such an extent that fixed costs for farm businesses cannot be met from income without causing a shortage of finance to meet farm family costs on items such as food, clothing, health and education.'
>
> '*Chronic rural poverty* . . . . . occurs when the profitability of farming activity remains at a low level for a long period of years or when farming activity becomes so organised to meet fluctuations in cost/price ratios as to limit severely its needs for permanent or casual non-family labour and restrict its multiplier effects on other employment in the region.'[3]

Note that the agricultural economic study places emphasis on farm and industry resources and structures whilst the sociology study emphasises family and community incomes and welfare. Obviously, one can roughly equate 'Periodic' with Type B, and 'Chronic' with Type C poverty. Type A poverty is an interesting link between the two. The sociology study suggested that 'Periodic' poverty could result in 'Chronic' poverty for a proportion of farmers and farming-dependent rural workers. It would seem that it is farmers with inadequate resources (Type A) who, if hit by Periodic or Type B poverty due to price falls or adverse seasons, may fall into Chronic or Type C poverty. Furthermore, over time, structural inadequacies and long-term declines in agriculture's terms of trade associated with periodic Type B poverty conditions can create more Type A poverty farmers who, if they become numerous enough in a particular type of farming or region, collectively constitute a pocket or sector of Type C poverty. This has occurred long ago to factory-supply dairying and recently to some fruit, small wool farms and small beef (ex. dairy farms), and could occur in the future to successively larger and larger beef and wool enterprises if terms of trade for their products continue to decline in the long run.

The processes occurring over time linking the types of poverty can be represented diagramatically as:



where + 1. 2. 3. 4 represent different time periods

The rest of this paper will discuss some of the conclusions and recommendations of the University of New England Department of Sociology's Rural Poverty Report and relate these to some of the findings and recommendations of the other University of New England report and that from Melbourne School of Agriculture and Forestry.

Some correlates with poverty

In relation to farm families, the information from the Dairy Farm Mobility Survey indicated that the highest proportion of families in poverty[4] were in the second stage of the family developmental cycle where the number of dependants living at home, and requiring education, was the highest. In the Wool Growers study it was farm families in this stage that had the highest average debt. These results highlight the importance of basing any temporary relief, such as the Farm Household Relief Scheme suggested in the report from the University of New England agricultural economists, on the number of dependants in the household and not merely on estimates of farm or family income.

The importance of the availability of off-farm employment to farmers in near-poverty is shown by results from the Dairy Farmers Study which indicated that 26 per cent of the farmers with no employment off the farm were in poverty, compared with 10 per cent in poverty amongst those who had off-farm employment. However, overall, only 14 per cent of the dairy farms surveyed obtained income from off-farm employment, so that, whilst valuable in alleviating low incomes from dairying, its availability was inadequate to be of help to the bulk of the families at risk.

The results from the Wool Study were striking in relation to the incidence of debt during the wool depression:

'In general, producers who are in debt are younger and have a younger family, but have more education, than those who are not in debt. It seems likely that those producers not in debt have been more conservative in their management. In hedging against the future (droughts and depressions), they have behaved according to the past (that is, exprerience of drought and depressions) and have risked less to gain security.'[5]

This statement reinforces the argument of Musgrave et al. that their proposed Farm Household Relief Scheme would probably: 'have helped a greater number of sheep producers in 1971 and 1972 than received assistance from the Rural Reconstruction Scheme and in the long run the costs may not have been as high.'[6] This would apply particularly to costs associated with debt reconstruction which Watson & Vincent see as 'a virtual lottery in existence with the prize being the ability to survive through debt reconstruction assistance and participate in higher farm incomes and recovered asset positions following rural recession.'[7]

Data from the Dairy Farmers Study on the increasing average age of dairy farmers and the small number of children of dairy farmers entering dairying support Watson & Vincent's contention that a 'natural adjustment' occurs by means of diminished entry to a low income type of farming failing to replace losses by death and retirement. However, the Dairy Farmer Study showed also that 20 per cent of the farming families in the late stage of their family developmental cycle were in poverty and that only 17 per cent of dairy farmers in poverty were under 40, the age usually taken as the upper limit for retraining. There is thus an obvious need for annuity schemes such as suggested by Vincent, Watson & Barton, to allow older farmers to live off their capital worth. The general lack of interest of dairy farmers' sons in following their parents on the farm could provide the opportunity for some farmers to take up an annuity scheme once they saw their families no longer interested in following them into farming. However, our experience of the avaricious nature of some dairy farmers' children in relation to the capital assets of their parents' farm, suggests that, whilst many parents would welcome annuity schemes enabling them to semi-retire earlier than would otherwise be possible, opposition could come from the potential inheritors seeing their assets dissipated in current living of their parents, rather than being available for division amongst the children on the death of the parents.

'Flow-on' of farming poverty

An important conclusion of the Sociology report on rural poverty was that both periodic and chronic poverty of farmers 'flows-on' to other sectors of the rural economy. It is often these sectors that move into chronic poverty after periodic poverty has hit the farming sector. Thus the evidence from the wool producers study showed that the periodic poverty in the 1970-71 wool depression caused a marked decline in the employment of non-family workers and an increased activity of farmers and their wives in part-time employment for other farmers or in other employment in the region. To the extent that such employment of farmers and wives persisted after prices rose again, or that farmers substituted capital or their own manual labour for the non-family labour dispensed with in the depression, some of the formerly casual or permanent farm wrokers, or their dependants who were unable to migrate away from the region, would be forced into chronic poverty.

The relatively high incidence of pensioners, invalid, periodically sick, widows, widowers and deserted wives amongst the chronically poor whites surveyed by the Sociology department, suggests that these people could well be the immobile remnants of farming and non-farming people trapped in previous outbreaks of periodic poverty. Results from the surveys undertaken for the first main report, *Poverty in Australia* of the Poverty Commission indicate that the population in non-farm rural employment has the highest incidence of poverty of any geographical region:[8]

Location	*% of Adult Income Units with Annual Income below the Poverty Line*
Sydney	8.8
Melbourne	7.3
Other Metropolitan	9.4
Intermediate	10.4
Rural (non-farmer)	14.4
Australia	10.2

Powerlessness of the rural poor:

A state of *powerlessness* seems to be overwhelmingly a common key factor associated with rural poverty. This powerlessness can be broadly classified into two categories:

(a) Powerlessness to choose
(b) Powerlessness to influence others

(a) *Powerlessness to choose.* Critics of poverty programmes tend to assume that many of the poor *choose* to live in the way they do. The rural poor tend to have *inadequate productive resources* available to them, either personal such as skill, knowledge, vigour, self-confidence, or economic such as land and capital, to enable them to choose between alternatives. Excessive consumption relative to the productive resources available creates poverty conditions in either farming or non-farming situations. Thus particularly at risk are large families with most of the children in the dependancy phase of the family developmental cycle, i.e. young and unproductive and with high consumption needs, and with demographic deficiency in a parent, e.g. ill health of the father or a widowed mother. Whether the family is a farming one or not, the wife is not available for employment on or off the farm and the children are too young to contribute to income. In attempting to counter these difficulties some rural poor remain as extended families. However, it is a delicate balance between the availability of more income earners in an extended family and the increased total consumption needs of such a unit, particularly if some are elderly and sick. Such extended families could be disadvantaged by any scheme for income support based on the assumption that most families are nuclear ones.

Many of the rural poor lack *knowledge* of what choices are available to them and do not know their basic human rights in law to protection from precipitate action by officials enacting, without due process, laws relating to housing, health, employment or schooling. Poor farmers are often unaware of either means of increasing their productivity or of schemes to alleviate their poverty. For both farm and non-farm poor those functionaries who could help often wait for the poor to go to them, rather than go and find out what needs to be done.

The physical and social isolation of the rural poor often make them physically and socially invisible to most of Australia's population. Thus, few know or care about their plight and they know few who care and help them, or increase their knowledge for self help.

(b) *Powlessness to influence others.* The rural poor lack verbal communication skills and have a hesitancy in communicating across what they see as status barriers. I cannot see many of the really poor farm families we interviewed every finding out that they were eligible for the Farm Household Relief Scheme proposed by Musgrave et al. Furthermore, even if it was brought to their notice, few would finish up filling in the forms when faced by the barrage of questions asked and the considerable amount of detail required to be furnished every month. Time after time, our interviewers found themselves acting as go-betweens for form filling, approaching functionaries, and providing information to the poor who saw them as somebody willing to help and not as an official whose duty was to save money for the Departments of Health, Employment of Social Security by 'brushing them off'. The Farm Household Relief Scheme could prove useful in helping the reasonably educated farmer who has temporarily fallen on bad times, due to price fluctuation or seasonal conditions, or to others who, from long years of practice at tax avoidance, will find a way to take advantage of the scheme. But it will not help significantly the chronically farming poor, whose poverty extends beyond a month or a year. Nor will it do anything for the non-farming rural poor who suffer from the vagaries of farming but have no voice in a farming pressure group to ensure that they too share in any temporary or permanent handouts being given to farmers.

Measures to alleviate rural poverty.

In arriving at decisions on appropriate recommendations for the alleviation of rural poverty, the sociology team at the University of New England were strongly influenced by our observations of the inequitable way in which welfare is being delivered in rural areas and by the opportunity a poverty industry provides for lucrative employment for professional welfare workers, agricultural economists, administrators, accountants, researchers and consultants. Accordingly, we framed our recommendations so as to minimise bureaucratic expansion and yet provide equitable support and services for those in poverty. The following measures arose from these considerations:

(a) *Introduction of some variant of negative income tax.*

We opted for this on the grounds of both equity to all (compared with specific schemes for farmers) and the possibility of utilising an existing bureaucratic structure, the Taxation Department, rather than proliferating bureaucratic empires responsible for a variety of measures all needing different assessment procedures and experts. We are aware of some of the pitfalls of N.I.T. when applied to business profits rather than to income earned from wage or salaried employment. *One method of applying N.I.T. to farmers and rural businessmen would be to pay them a weekly or monthly amount equivalent to the base income payment made to those with nil earned income. Then the difference between the amount paid to them and actual income from the business up to breakeven point could be recovered by taxation at the end of the financial year.* Eligibility to be paid the basic income would be the production of tax records for previous years indicating, say, that in three years out of five, net income from farming had fallen below the agreed poverty line.

(b) *Payment of N.I.T. or similar base welfare payment to nuclear families and not to 'households sharing the same cooking pot' (Henderson's definition of household unit).* This is to allow for the greater needs of extended families and to prevent inequity between two nuclear families of different generations living together as extended family, but receiving only payment for one household compared with payment for two related households of different generations living separately. Thus the extended aborigine family living in one humpy would be treated on the same basis as the extended farm family with Dad and Mum living in the old house and son and daughter-in-law and young family living in the new cottage down the road.

(c) In line with the philosophy of minimising the bureaucracy of poverty; *Encouragement of self projects amongst those in poverty.*
Such projects should be designed both to create work and to provide resources as a result of that work. Some of the ideas used in schemes in developing countries to help provide minimum facilities for shanty-town fringe dwellers could be usefully adapted for the conditions of rural poverty here.

(d) *The employment of linkage agents, probably by regional or local government authorities to service self-help groups with information and advice to act as go-betweens for the poor in their dealings with welfare, training, health and employment organisations.*

(e) *Provision of a motorised office, form dispensary and welfare library which could be driven to the poor by the linkage agents.*
Many rural areas do not have local branches of the various welfare agencies and it can be a hardship for many and impossible for some, to travel to the nearest branch which may be many miles away, only to be discouraged or turned away by an unsympathetic official who dislikes their smell or misunderstands their need.

(f) *Provision of a corps of free-lance man's friends.*
Such people would be able to solicit living wages (and no more) for a period of time—say, three years—with annual review by a statutory body, e.g. the proposed regional councils for social development. Support would be granted to these free-lance workers on the basis of specific projects of work to be undertaken by living and working with the poor. We suspect that a proportion of disenchanted University students would take this opportunity to use, for the benefit of others, their ideals and ideas for and knowledge of simpler alternative technologies outside a bureaucratic framework. In so doing, they could evolve simpler life styles which would be satisfying and healthy for both them and those they help towards a better use of their limited available resources.

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2 *Financial Aspects of Rural Poverty*, op. cit., Ch. 5

3 *Rural Poverty in Northern N.S.W.*, op. cit., pp. 150–151.

4 Henderson's 'poverty bands' were applied to estimated form family incomes to determine which families were in poverty.

5 *Rural Poverty in Northern N.S.W.*, op. cit., p. 53.

6 Musgrave et al., *Financial Aspects of Rural Poverty*, op. cit., p. 31.

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PERSATUAN KEMAJUAN RAKYAT (MOVEMENT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE)

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1. Situation of Estate Workers in Malaysia

Malaysia is a fast developing country. It is currently embarking into its 3rd Malaysian plan. This plan is geared mainly towards the economic up-liftment of the masses. The majority of Malaysians are rural dwellers. They are plantation workers, farmers and fishermen.

Malaysia is the golden bowl of the world's natural rubber. There are about one thousand *Estates* in Malaysia, with an average of 3,000 acres per estates, 3/4 of that acreage planted with rubber and 1/4 with oil-palm.

Eestate People. In an average estate of 3,000 acres, there are 300 resident-workers with 450 dependents, giving a total of 750 people living in one estate, spread in 2 or 4 divisions. The total population of people living in estates in Malaysia is around 750,000. There are an additional 100 non-resident workers with 150 dependents, for each estate. This brings the total number of people living from estate work in Malaysia to over one million.

Production. An average estate of 3,000 acres produce 1,000 tons of rubber a year, or over 3 million pounds. Calculating the average costprice at 62 1/2 cents per 1b. and the selling price at $1.25, the yearly profit is around $2 million for one estate, or over $2 billion for the whole of Malaysia.

Salary. A tapper receives between $5 and $7 a day, or $150 per month in average. An oil-palm harvester makes $210 a month. There is an average of 2 to 3 persons working per family.

N.B. If half of the profits of the Estates were distributed equally among the 400,000 Estate Workers, each one would receive an annual bonus of $5,000. But bonus is only given when the worker retires and amounts to $20 per year of employment.

Living Conditions . . . . . Housing and medical facilities are given free but are very poor. It is not rare that an Estate receives a monthly allocation of only $200 for the medicines of all the residents of that estate. Water and electricity are very much restricted. Still in many places, the water runs for only three hours daily in a tap that has to be shared by several families.

Union. The Workers are represented by the NUPW (National Union of Plantation Workers) to negotiate with MAPA, the employers association in all matters regarding labour.

Edudation The elders are illiterate. The younger workers are primary educated. The schooling generation is more and more going up to lower secondary.

2. Social Workers and "Human" Development of Estate People

For the past seven years, "social workers", mostly volunteers and a few full-timers, have been dealing with Estate People. They tried to implement the social teachings of Pope Paul's encyclical letter on the "Development of the People" (1968). But last year they realized that their social work did not help very much persons to grow. Priority had been given to projects rather than to persons.

The first break-through in ideology came in mid-1974, during a seminar for about 30 "social workers" coming from Seremban, Batang Berjuntai, Kuala Lumpur, Sitiawan, Ipoh, Penang and Sungai Patani. Through a series of live-in seminars taking place every four months and lasting 2 to 4 days, these social workers understood better the various aspects and the ultimate Goal of Human Development: Man has to grow and economically, in order to grow into a full human person. An unanimous decision was taken to change the attitude and to opt for "HUMAN" Development (Develop MEN). Later they had started to liberate themselves from the projects contact and reflection.

In June 1975, the EX-CD of Social Workers of Malaysia agreed in principle that the GOAL OF SOCIAL WORK is: The personal growth of *MAN, becoming aware of himself and responsible for others, and the building of a COMMUNITY of Brothers.*

3. Social Work and the Catholic in Malaysia

So far, "Social Work" has been done by a few individual people or small groups in a few parishes in Malaysia. The Catholic Community as such has not been involved in "development projects" nor in any true "conscientization" work. Human Development has yet little acceptance.

We wish that *Integral Human Development* (growth of man in all aspects and of every man) become a constitutive part of the Church work. The complete formation of MAN is realized fully only in Christ (Faith, Eucharist . . .) but is based on "Human" Development. It is good to notice that some non-Christian Social Workers, Hindus, are conducting awareness sessions for Catholic Communities. It is our belief that Human Development (Social Work) is breaking the ground in which Pastoral workers can sow the seeds of Evangelization.

LEADERSHIP TRAINING AMONG LABOURERS IN THE RUBBER, OIL PALM PLANTATIONS IN N. SEMBILAN, MALAYSIA

Situation

The Term "Estate" is used to signify the Plantation—the place where the workers work and stay. Usually their houses are clustered together in a space cleared among the trees.

In each Estate there are 5 to 8 organisations representing the workers. These organisations have been started with the idea of helping these workers to become better in social, cultural, economic fields. The leaders of these organisations were elected or picked. Their method of work was traditional—Work for the people. The most popular of these organisations is the National Union of Plantation Workers—a Labour Union to deal with the employers. The Employers in turn have their body known as MAPA.

The other organisations are, just to name some:-
—Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC—a Political Party)
—The Cinema Committee
—The Temple Committee
—Youth Club
—Library Group
—Death Fund Committee, *etc* . . . .

These leaders of the various organisations often do not know what their task is. They have goodwill and are keen, to a certain extent, to serve the people, rather to work *for* others. Because of no proper guidance and training and because each group tries to outdo the work of others, quarelling, grumbling, mistrust, back biting and fights are a common sight in the Estates. There is no cooperation among them but a division. There is also power struggle among the Leaders trying to crush the other.

Instead of serving the community the time is consumed by the rivalry that takes place among the Leaders and among the organisations.

Task of Social Workers

This is the position the Negeri Sembilan Social Workers are facing. So to remedy the situation, they venturing in organizing Leadership Training for the Leaders of these various organisations; and they in turn are expected to build up a Community of brotherhood in their own places.

Plan of Work

August-November 1975: Contact

The Leaders of the various organisations in each Estate were contacted personally by the P.K.R. Social Workers. It was discovered that they are holding responsible posts but not working as expected. It was easy to have regular contacts with these Leaders. Slowly the leaders of each estate were asked to choose 2 or 3 among them to represent the Estate for a Leadership Training Course in the P.K.R. Secretariat in Seremban; where they will have the opportunity to meet other Leaders from other Estates.

December 1975: In Training

30 Leaders (both men & women) from 10 different Estates attended the Leadership Training in Seremban. This coming together of Representatives from the various Estates gave them an opportunity to know what is being done in the other estates and also to know and be friends with one another.

In this Leadership Training, they began to discuss among themselves their work and duties. This they did in a friendly manner, without fear.

The Representatives were expected to conduct such discussions with the other Leaders in their own Estates when they return, and the Leaders of the various organisations to meet with people of their group.

Later during the Leadership Training, the following Topics were discussed and shared:

—What is the meaning of a Leader?

—Who is a Leader in the Estate?

—What is his responsibility?

—Who am I?

A simple group dynamic technique was conducted. A man blindfolded was being led by a normal person. This experience was discussed among the Leaders.

After the Training

After the training in Seremban all 30 Leaders arranged for similar group discussions in their own Estate. In every estate about 15–20 leaders of the various organisations attended.

The following facts were discovered by the Leaders of the Estate:-

1) This is the first time, in the history of the Estate, all the Leaders of the various groups sat side by side for a formal group discussion.
2) When all leaders are gathered together to solve problems of common interest, is a good chance for unity of all workers.
3) All Leaders unanimously resolved to hold a study circle once a month.

January 1976 : Working CommitteFormed

A Working Committee of 4 men and 2 women, chosen from the 30 Leaders who attended the Training in Seremban.

The task of this committee is to do groundwork and to make arrangements for both the Central training in Seremban and also for the monthly meet in the 10 Estates.

They have to review the sessions and plan according to "taste" and situation of the Estates.

Two types of Training

In the Centre: P.K.R. Secretariat

The Leaders-i.e. the Representatives from the different estates met for a second time. They explained in brief what their responsibilities were and the difficulties they had to undergo in carrying them out sincerely. Some even confessed fact that they did not know what their duties and responsibilities were.

In their respective estates

Here too, during the discussions the same facts as stated in the Centre came to light.

Finally, it was agreed that every month all leaders must join to discuss matters of common interest, common problems. All this for the betterment of the Community.

Aim of P.K.R.

The aim of P.K.R. in helping in this kind of training is a long term plan—working to achieve the ultimate result i.e. the leaders able to stand on their own feet and conduct their own meeting in their own Estates. Gradually, they get power and this through experiencing. This is one of the processes in which they realize that they are the masters of their own destiny. Rallied with the members of their respective organisation, the Leaders will give a new turn, a new life in their respective Estates.

SOME PROJECTS OF FIGHTING POVERTY IN TAIWAN

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As a member of the medical profession, I would like to present some of the projects with which our health authorities are fighting poverty in Taiwan. I think people become poor either because they have too many children or because they frequently suffer from sickness.

To solve the problem of having too many children by a couple, an islandwide family planning program has been started since 1964, and about 460 workers are selling people on family planning by house-to-house visits. The program pays particular attention to the poor people; any contraceptives or services provided to them are free.

The sterilization program started in 1973 also gives the poor first priority. Travel allowances in addition to free services are provided to those persons who accept the operation.

Medical care in the forms of the following measures has also been provided:

1) An intensive village improvement program—Since 1960 trained health education nurses have been assigned to help the villagers improve their personal home sanitation, and family planning.

2) Simple water supply systems for backward villages—Water sources are located and water tanks built to make available clean drinking water.

3) Individual cards for the poor—Local health agencies are going to set up a card system for the poor, under which better medical services can be provided.

4) Ambulances for backward areas—Health authorities are planning to procure ambulances for mobile clinics serving villages far away from health stations. Medical care will thus be made more accessible.

To solve the problem of the lack of medical persons in backward areas, the provincial hospitals and local health stations will rotate their doctors to work for a period of three months in such areas.

THE FADING OF EARTHBOUND COMPULSION IN A HONG KONG VILLAGE: POPULATION MOBILITY AND ITS ECONOMIC IMPLICATION

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Earthbound compulsion has been widely recognized as a central characteristic of the traditional structure of peasant societies. For many centuries, for instance, village folks in China were relatively immobile. To be born and to die in the same place was regarded as most desirable. By contrast, to leave one's homeland was viewed as a tragic event.

In view of the relatively self-contained farm economy in traditional villages, the emergence and persistence of the earthbound psychology appears to be a natural consequence. Urban dwellers may not be so conscious of the importance of the soil, but the livelihood of peasants are almost entirely dependent on the soil in the village. To the farmer, it is the soil that keeps him and his family members alive. Away from the soil, they may face the possibility of hunger and the threat of death. Naturally there is a close emotional tie between peasants and their homelands. In traditional peasant societies, population immobility is a "normal" phenomenon whereas mobility is "abnormal".

Industrialization and urbanization have come to be common processes in most countries today. The traditional social structure of peasant communities and their changes under the impact of industrial-urbanism have been well-documented (see, for instance, the various articles in Potter, Diaz and Foster, 1967; and in Shanin, 1971). In the case of Chinese villages there are, for example, studies by Fei (1939), Yang (1948), Freedman (1958), and Yang (1959) in the Chinese Mainland, by Gallin (1967), Wu (1973), and Wen and his associates (1975) in Taiwan, and by Baker (1968) and Potter (1968) in Hong Kong. In this paper, I shall focus on the effects of industrialization and urbanization upon the earthbound characteristic of a village in Hong Kong, and then examine the subsequent effects on the internal economic life of the village. Some of the specific questions to be raised are: (1) How extensive has been the population mobility in the village under study in recent years? (2) How has it been associated with the industrial and urban growth in Hong Kong? and (3) How has the population mobility under the impact of industrial-urbanism affected the material well-being of the village dwellers? Three types of population mobility will be examined; they are immigration, outmigration, and the commuting of village dwellers to work outside.

The Growth of Industrial-Urbanism in Hong Kong

Hong Kong is located on the southeast coast of the Chinese Mainland. The total land area is 1,045 square Km., of which about 12 per cent are cultivated land. The mid-year population in 1975 was estimated at 4,366,600, which is about two and a half times that in 1948 (1,800,000). There has thus been a rapid growth of population size since the Communist takeover of the Chinese Mainland in 1949. Currently, an overwhelming majority (over 98%) of the total population are Chinese in place of origin.

About 88 per cent of the total population in Hong Kong concentrate in the urban sector which comprises only 18 per cent of the total land area, whereas the rural New Territories, comprising 82 per cent of the total land area, accommodate only 13 per cent of the total population. Apparently Hong Kong has become a highly urbanized society..

Concomitant to population and urban growth is the rapid industrialization of Hong Kong's economy in the past few decades. For instance, the proportion of working population engaged in manufacturing has increased from less than 10 per cent in 1948 to over one-half in 1975, and electricity consumption has risen from 3,499 million Kilowat-hours in 1968 to 6,424 million in 1975. Hong Kong, therefore, is a Chinese society with rapid industrialization and urbanization. The rise and growth of industrial-urbanism has had a number of ramifications to the settlers in various villages of the New Territories.

The rural New Territories consists of about 230 islands and a large piece of the hinterland in the northern part of Hong Kong. It has been settled by the Chinese for almost ten centuries. There are currently about 900 villages, which are mostly settled by a single clan.

The village of Lok is the site of our study. It is located in the mid-eastern coast (of hinterland) of the New Territories, and is about a mile northwest of a market town called Taipo Hui. A railway and a public highway are along the west side of the village site. A bus stop is nearby and the railway station is only a mile way. It takes about 45 minutes by train or by automobile to commute from the village to the urban centers of Hong Kong.

A hill lies along the northern boundary of the village, and a main pathway runs through the village from west to east. When one walks into the village from the western entrance, one would see a number of small-scale cultivated fields (a total of about 30 acres) clustering on the right hand side (i.e., the south). On the left (north), one would first find a primary school and its playground, and a couple of retailing shops. Walking further, one then sees blocks of houses constructed in traditional Chinese style with stones and bricks. These houses are arranged in a rectangular pattern, and are mostly used by natives for residence. A few houses, however, have been turned into small factories. In the midst of the houses is the Ancestor Hall, behind which is the watch-tower. Approaching the northeastern section, one would find a bunch of wooden shacks inhabited by immigrants, and also a number of cottage industries.

For many centuries the village was settled by a single clan of the Tangs who were originally natives of Chi-Shui Hsien of the Kiangsi Province. The clan moved to the

New Territories around the year 973 A.D. They were not only first comers, but also the largest and most influential clan in the New Territories. Lok is one of the villages established by the clan; it has a history of nearly 400 years. According to our major informants, relatively self-sufficient farming and population immobility were some of the marked characteristics of the village about twenty-odd years ago. The situation, however, has changed rapidly in recent years because of the drastic changes in the larger society.

Research Procedures

Under the general directorship of Professor S. L. Wong, our research project was begun in the fall of 1964 by making contacts with village leaders and by collecting preliminary information from major informants. A group of sociology students at The Chinese University of Hong Kong participated in the project as field workers under the supervision of several faculty members. Two village houses were rented, and were used as research office as well as dormitories for fieldworkers.

At the preliminary stage of the project, fieldworkers were mainly concerned with getting acquainted with individual families and collecting basic information through participant observation and informal interview. Seminar discussions were frequently held among faculty supervisors and student fieldworkers so as to exchange ideas and field experiences, to identify significant problems and phenomena, and to plan for the next task.

A complete set of demographic information were collected by the summer of 1966. A family file and a subject file were also built, where information on each family and on each topic were kept in separate folders so that the inflow of new data could be systematically compiled. Subsequently, several significant research areas were identified in the fall of 1966. Fieldworkers were then organized into several research teams, each of which took a special area for investigation. Data were collected through various methods, such as content analysis of historical documents, depth interview of major informants, field observation, and sample surveys with questionnaires.

A number of preliminary research reports were produced by the summer of 1969. Since the village has undergone a rapid growth of population over the past years, a second census-type survey was carried out. The data were analyzed and compared with the survey findings in the summer of 1966. In the spring of 1970, an economic survey was also conducted to find out the production and consumption patterns of all village families.

The present author has been a member of the project since its inception. This paper used part of the data to shed light on the previously raised questions concerning the pattern of population mobility and some of its economic implications.

Population Composition of the Village

Since World War II, the growth of population in the village has been phenomenal. It was estimated that there were 95 people in the year 1946, almost all of whom were clan members. According to our surveys, the numbers were 557 in the year 1966 and 596 in 1969. The population size in 1969 is six times that in 1946. The rapid growth can not be explained merely by natural increase which was estimated at only 2 per cent per year. The primary reason was the influx of immigrants to the village since the Second World War and particularly since the Communist takeover of the Chinese Mainland in 1949.

There were 169 clan members and 388 immigrants in 1966, and 156 clan members and 440 immigrants in 1969. In other words, only 30 per cent of the total population in 1966 and 26 per cent in 1969 were members of the clan. In both years, the clan group was outnumbered by the immigrant group. Moreover, a comparison of the two surveys indicates that over the 3 years, there has been a decrease of 8 per cent of the clan population, but an increase of 13.4 per cent of the immigrant population. It is evident that the population growth in the village was largely due to the inflow of outsiders.

The 1969 survey reveals that there were then 95 immigrant families and 27 clan families. The average size of immigrant families was 4.6, while that of clan families was 5.8. There were thus more outsider families than native families, but the average family size of the former group was smaller. The figures about average family size, which are somewhat similar to the findings of many other studies in Chinese villages, dispell the common misconception that the Chinese always have a large family.

The sex-age characteristics of the clan and immigrant groups were presented in Figure 1. The pyramid was essentially shaped by the immigrants. In almost all sex-age categories, there were more immigrants than clan members. The sex-ratio of the immigrant group was 126, while that of the clan group was 68. There were thus more men than women in the immigrant group, but less men than women in the clan. The median age of immigrants was 18.9, while that of clan members was 18.6. Both population groups were relatively young; it was mainly due to the large number of children in both groups.

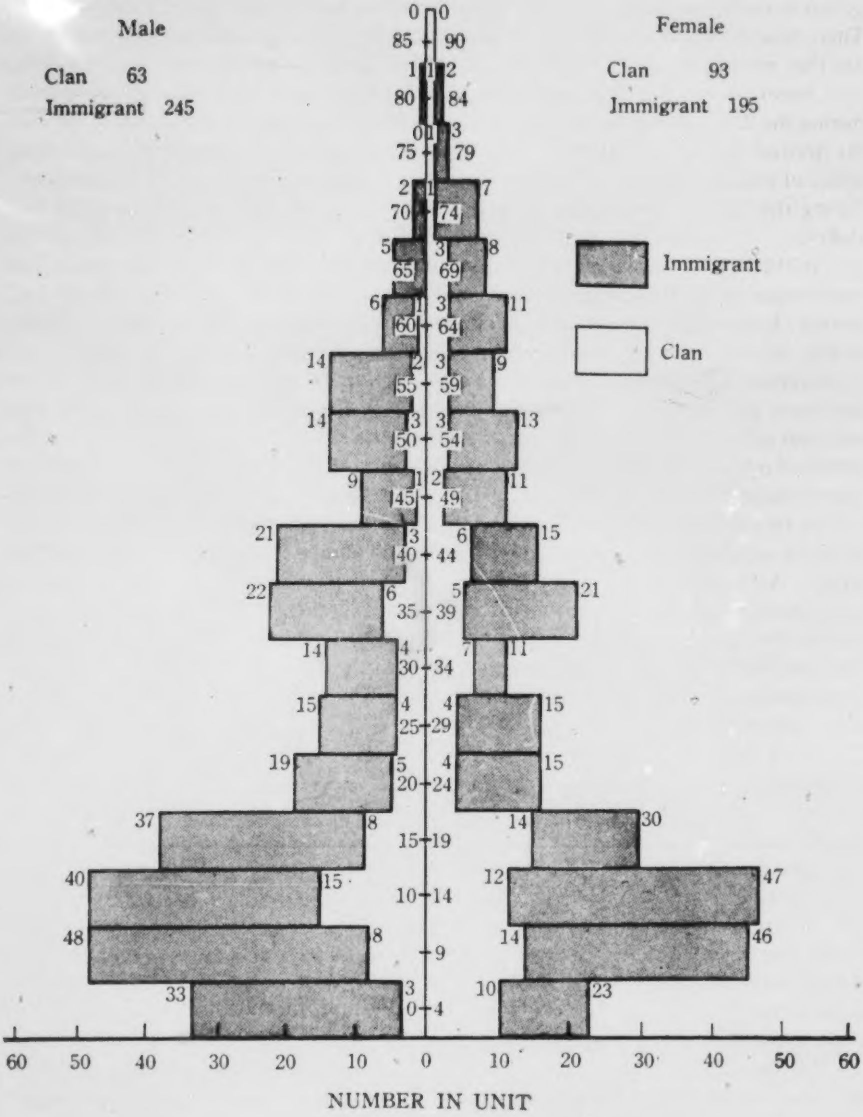
From Table 1, both clan members and immigrants, excluding those who were under the age of 10 with no schooling, were most likely to be with primary school education or equivalent (e.g., private tutoring). In general, the level of education was lower among immigrants than clan members. In both groups, women received less education than men.

TABLE 1. EDUCATION BY SEX AMONG CLAN MEMBERS AND IMMIGRANTS
(Excluding those under 10-years old with no schooling)

Education	Clan			Immigrant		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
No schooling	1.9	25.0	16.2	3.9	27.8	15.0
Primary school or equivalent	61.5	48.8	53.7	74.5	60.5	68.0
Secondary school or more	36.6	26.2	30.1	21.6	11.7	17.0
Total (N)	(52)	(84)	(136)	(208)	(180)	(388)

Figure 1

POPULATION PYRAMID IN LOK VILLAGE (1969)



Immigration: When, Where, Why

Lok has, in effect, ceased to be a single clan village. Population-wise, the clan group is rather small and is increasingly outnumbered by people from other places. Then, when did these outsiders move in to the village? Where were they from? Why did they move into the village? And what do they do now?

According to our 1969 survey, about 62 per cent of the immigrant families came during the decade 1959–69, 29 per cent during 1949–58, and 9 per cent came between the Second World War and the Communist takeover of the Chinese Mainland. The influx of outsiders to the village was hence a relatively recent phenomenon. It started during the World War II and became more massive since the civil war in the late 1940's.

In the 1969 survey, the head of each immigrant family was asked to tell the single most important reason for moving into the village. It was found that 31 per cent reported "low cost of living in the village"; 26 per cent "work accessibility" (e.g., availability of jobs or business sites, and proximity to the place of work); 23 per cent "inducement of friends or relatives residing in the village"; and the remaining 20 per cent were in favor of the environmental setting in the village, such as "friendly and personal relationships in rural area," "fresh air and quiet atmosphere," and "availability of open space for children to play." Apparently, economic considerations were the dominant motives for immigration.

In recent years it has become rather expensive to live in city areas. The cost of living in a village community is usually lower, and thus pulls some people into the village. An average urban family, for example, normally shares a flat with several other families, and yet has to pay a sizable portion (around 20%) of its total income for the rent. Since a family can rent more space with much less money (about 10% of the total income) in the village, a number of people have thus chosen to settle in rural communities specially those, like the Village of Lok, which are accessible to a market town and urban centers through public transportation routes

Work accessibility was another important economic consideration. It was found, for instance, that some of the immigrants moved into the village because they were (1) workers in retailing shops, schools, or factories nearby the village, (2) business men in need of more space to store or sun-dry their goods, or of cheaper labor for industrial production, and (3) farmers who wanted to continue agricultural production in the village.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that immigration can not be explained by economic motives alone. As indicated, a substantial proportion of the immigrants reported reasons which were not economic. These immigrants, altogether about 43 percent, mainly considered the interpersonal relationships and the quality of the living environment in the community.

People arrived in the village at different periods of time, however, may not have the same reason. From Table 2, we found a significant change of primary reasons over the past few decades. Immigrants before 1949 were primarily induced by friends or relatives residing in the village. During the period 1949–58, inducement of friends or relatives became the next important reason, while the lowcost of living appeared as most important. From 1959 to 1969, work accessibility emerged as the prime reason, whereas the inducement of friends or relatives fell into the bottom of the list. Note also that environmental considerations have become more important in recent years.

As regards to the place of origin, most of the immigrant families moved *directly* from urban areas of Hong Kong and other parts (mostly nearby districts) of the New Territories. Only one-fifth of them moved directly from the Chinese Mainland to the village. Table 3 shows that among those who immigrated before 1949 were mostly from other parts of the rural New Territories. Since 1949, however, the proportion of immigrant families from urban areas of Hong Kong had increased rapidly.

The data in Table 4 reconfirm the importance of economic motivation in making people to move into the village site. It was the prime reason for immigrants from different places, especially those from urban areas of Hong Kong and from the Chinese Mainland.

On the basis of the above information, let us make an attempt to reconstruct the story of immigration to the Village of Lok. As a single clan entity, the village was exclusive of outsiders for many centuries. Soon after the World War II, however, outsiders began to move in to the village. The immigrants were then mostly from other parts of the rural New Territories. They were able to break the traditional rule of exclusiveness, probably because of their particularistic relationships with some members of the community. As reported by these immigrants, their primary reason of in-move was the inducement of friends or relatives residing in the village.

Since the Communist takeover of the Mainland in 1949, the influx of immigrants

TABLE 2. PRIMARY REASON FOR IN-MOVE AMONG IMMIGRANT FAMILIES BY PERIOD OF TIME

Reasons	Period			
	Before 1949	1949–58	1959–69	Total
	%	%	%	%
Low-cost of living	25.0	53.8	21.4	31.1
Work accessibility	25.0	7.7	33.9	25.6
Inducement of friends or relatives	50.0	30.8	16.1	23.3
Others	0.0	7.7	28.6	20.0
Total (N)	(8)	(26)	(56)	(90)

TABLE 3. PLACE OF ORIGIN AMONG IMMIGRANT FAMILIES BY PERIOD OF TIME

Place of Origin	Period			
	Before 1949	1949–58	1959–69	Total
	%	%	%	%
Urban Hong Kong	25.0	46.2	41.0	41.1
Other parts of New Territories	50.0	30.7	42.9	40.0
Mainland China	25.0	23.1	16.1	18.9
Total (N)	(8)	(26)	(56)	(90)

TABLE 4. PRIMARY REASON FOR IN-MOVE AMONG IMMIGRANT FYMILIES BY PLACE OF ORIGIN

Reason	Place of Origin			
	Urban Hong Kong	Other parts of New Territories	Mainland	Total
	%	%	%	%
Low cost of living	32.5	27.8	35.3	31.1
Work accessibility	29.7	13.8	41.1	25.6
Inducement of Friends or relatives	24.3	27.8	11.8	23.3
Environmental quality	13.5	30.6	11.8	20.0
Total (N)	(37)	(36)	(17)	(90)

to the village had increased at an accelerated rate. A number of them came *directly* from urban areas of Hong Kong. Economic considerations became the prime motivation for immigration. It was probably due to changes in the Hong Kong society as a whole. As suggested previously, since the year 1949 the growth of population and of industrial-urbanism in Hong Kong have been remarkable. Consequently the living cost and the land value in city areas have been rapidly upraising. As houses were available for residence at a lower rate and as cheaper land and labor were available for industrial production or commercial pursuits, it has become more profitable to move and stay in the village rather than the city. The question comes: Why were these outsiders accepted by the natives? As I shall explain later in this paper, it was probably due to the fact that these newcomers had brought a significant amount of economic benefit to the clan.

It was noted that in recent years the quality of the living environment in the village has gained more weight in attracting immigrants. As city areas become more crowded, more impersonal, and more polluted in the years to come, we would expect that more people will come and settle in the village. It is in a rural community that people can still find the warm and personal feelings in the good old days, enjoy more open space, and inhale "fresh" air.

Outmigration

The rapid population growth in the village was largely due to the influx of outsiders. Concomitant to immigration, however, was the emigration of some village members to other places. The growth of industrial-urbanism, plus the village's accessibility to the outside world, has led to an increasing rate of outmigration these years.

According to our observation, there were very few cases where the entire families moved away from the village. Most often, some members of a family emigrated while others remained to stay. Therefore, we shall here focus on those emigrants whose families still have some members residing in the village. The 1969 census survey indicates that there were 72 such emigrants, of whom 33 were males and 39 were females. They belonged to 34 families in the village. More specifically, 23 emigrants belonged to 9 clan families, while 49 emigrants belonged to 25 outsider families. As there were a total number of 156 clan members and 440 immigrants residing in the community in 1969, the ratio of emigrants to residents in the clan group was about 16 to 100, whereas the ratio in the immigrant group was 11 to 100. The ratios suggest that natives were more likely than outsiders to emigrate. It was, however, found that nearly one out of four outsider families had one or more members moving away. These once mobile people were not so easy to settle down.

Villagers were most likely to emigrate at their young adult ages. Almost one-half of the emigrants left the village at the ages 15–29, while about one-fourth moved at the ages 30–54. In other words, three out of four emigrants left between the ages of 15 to 54. This pattern existed among both males and females, and among both the clan and the outsider groups. The data lend support to the proposition that villagers tend to emigrant at their productive ages.

As reported, outsiders began to arrive in the village after the World War II. With the exception of one person who outmigrated in 1932, all emigrants were found to leave the village after the Second World War. More specifically, 2 persons emigrated between World War II and the year 1948, 8 between 1949 and 1958, and 61 between 1959 and 1969. Apparently, the number of emigrants had increased rapidly over the last few decades.

Why did they leave the village? Let us first examine their educational background *before* emigration. Should we exclude those who were under 10 years old with no schooling at the time of outmigration, then 9.1 per cent of the remaining emigrants (a total of 55) were with no schooling, 58.2 per cent with primary schooleducation or equivalent, and 32.7 per cent with secondary school education or above. As indicated previously, the corresponding figures among the current residents in the village were 15.3 per cent, 64.3 per cent, and 20.4 per cent. Emigrants were thus generally with a higher level of education than current residents in the village, suggesting that education may be a major factor fostering outmigration. Here comes a dilemma in the area of education and manpower development. The introduction of modern education, that is needed for the development of manpower in a rural community, may encourage the young generation to desert the village.

What were the reasons for outmigration? According to our respondents in the 1969 survey, "better job opportunity" was the most important reason (54%) for male emigrants, followed by "inducement of friends or relatives" (26%). For the female emigrants, "marriage" was the prime reason (33%), followed by "better job opportunity" (22%). Economic motivation was thus a major cause of outmigration.

What did they do immediately *after* emigration? We found that except one woman, none of the emigrants were engaged in farming. Of the male emigrants, most (74.4%) were engaged in industrial or commercial activities, while the rest (25.6%) went to school. Most of the female emigrants were housewives (46.1%), followed by industrial or commercial workers (28.2%), students (23.1%), and farmers (2.6%).

In recent years, a number of villagers in the New Territories have emigrated to foreign countries for the purpose of seeking better economic opportunities. In the case of Lok, we found that 33.2 per cent of the male emigrants and 24.2 per cent of the female emigrants have moved to other countries including England, Netherlands, The United States, and Canada. Most of them emigrated in early 1960's. All these emigrants, except three in England, were members of the clan.

Moreover, about 33.4 per cent of the male emigrants and 35.2 per cent of the female emigrants left for urban areas of Hong Kong, while 33.4 per cent of men and 40.5 per cent of women went to other parts of the New Territories. Within Hong Kong, therefore, the rural to rural migration was as frequent as the rural to urban migration. Should we also include the emigrants to foreign countries, the proportion of emigrants to urban places (66.6% of males and 59.5% of females) then exceeded the proportion to other rural regions (33.4% of males and 40.5% of females).

We have thus seen that people in the village were no longer tied to the soil. The number of emigrants has increased in recent decades. The rate of outmigration was relatively higher in the clan group than the outsider group. Emigrants were equipped with better education than those who remained to reside in the village. Most of them left for urban areas of Hong Kong or other countries during their productive ages, in order to pursuit better economic opportunities. Subsequently, they were mostly engaged in non-farming occupations.

The Commuting of Workers

In addition to immigration and outmigration, there is also a third type of population mobility, i.e., the commuting of village dwellers to work in places outside the community. In a traditional village, peasants normally lived there and worked there as well. There was little differentiation between the place of work and the place of residence. Under the impact of industrial-urbanism, this kind of earthbound practice has been fading away.

We conducted an economic survey of all village families in the spring of 1970. 202 of the 567 village dwellers being covered by the survey were found to be economically active. More specifically, 44 per cent of the 298 males and 26.4 per cent of the 269 females were economically active. Among them, only 12 men and 6 women were engaged in farming and fowl raising. About two-third of these farmers were immigrants. The remaining 184 workers were widely scattered in various types of industrial of commercial occupations such as factory worker, small business propriator, waiter, office clerk, nurse, teacher, construction worker, bus driver, and seaman. Apparently, agricultural production has ceased to be the economy base of the village community. The economy of the village has undergone the process of sectoral reallocation from agricultural production to manufacturing production and services.

As a result of the sectoral change, members of the village do not have to be earthbound in their economic pursuits. They could choose to work outside rather than inside the village confines. It was found that among the 184 persons engaged in non-farming occupations, only one-fourth (mostly women) were employed *inside* the village as workers in the small factories, as store keepers, or as attendants in the village school. A great majority (about three-fourth) of the working population was thus engaged in jobs *outside* the village. For them, the village is a place to live but not a place to work. They have to commute to the outside world to earn their living almost everyday. This overwhelmingly large but highly mobile portion of the population has, in effect, turned the village into a *dormitory* site. The immobile characteristic of the traditional village was thus radically changed.

The question arises: Why do these people continue to reside in, rather than move away from, the village site? In an effort to answer to this question, we interviewed a sample of 10 clan families and 15 outsider families which had settled in the village from 9 years or more. It was found that the primary reason for both groups was the low cost of living in the village, especially the relatively cheap rents and school fees.

The second reason was about the quality of the living environment, such as fresh air, open space, relatively simple life and quiet atmosphere. Note also that many villagers were quite happy with the recent improvement of public facilities in the village, such as the supply of water and electricity.

The third reason was economic opportunity. The village was considered as a good place to make their living. It was observed that the village factories have provided domestic handicraft work for housewives, children, and the aged, and thus become an important source of supplementary income for many families in the village.

In short, many villagers did not emigrate because they perceived that the cost of living in the village was low, that the quality of the living environment was satisfactory, and that economic opportunities were available. Under these considerations, they remained to reside in the village site, even though many of them had to work in other places.

Economic Implication

The change from population immobility to mobility under the impact of industrial-urbanism may produce multiple effects on the social, political, and economic life of the village. To delimit the scope of discussion in this paper, I shall focus on some of the changes in family income and living standard. Our question is: How do the people in the village benefit, at least economically, from the mobility?

Before the arrival of immigrants after the World War II, farmers of the village were mainly engaged in growing rice. Because of the small-scale cultivation and primitive technology, the income of farmers remained low year after year. Those who had to pay land rent were on the subsistance level of living even in a good harvest year. Under the influence of the more sophisticated immigrant group, however, the income of the farmers has been substantially improved in recent years. From some of the newcomers, the native farmers learned some of the new technical know-how such as better seeds, improved irrigation and the use of more fertilizers. More important, they learned to grow many varieties of seasonal vegetables and flowers to replace rice farming, thus bringing in more economic return from land cultivation. On the average, the economic return has gone up nearly ten times. To give a rather extreme example, one of the farmers in the clan gets his major income from growing peach blossom trees, and has become so wealthy that he recently spent 250 thousand Hong Kong dollars on building a new house for residence. This kind of upward mobility was utterly impossible in the old days. The livelihood of other farmers have also generally been improved as evidenced by their consuming pattern. Radio, television, refrigerator, electric fan and cooker were commonly found in every farmer's home.

The number of immigrants who came to the village for agricultural production were relatively few. Altogether, there were 12 individuals. A number of outsiders were found to have come to the village because of the availability of industrial site and labor force there. They brought with them a good amount of capital and set up small factories in the village. In recent years, the number of factories has increased to nearly 20, opening up more job opportunities to people in the village. As reported, many clan members as well as immigrants were in fact employed by these small industries either on full-time or part-time basis.

As jobs were available in the non-farming sectors inside or outside the community, clan members became less reluctant to sell their land inherited from ancestors. No less important is that the pressure of population growth and the demand for commercial and industrial sites have boosted up the land value in Hong Kong. Because of its proximity to a market town and its accessibility (through a railway and a public highway) to urban centers, the land value in the village has gone up nearly 20 times in the last two decades, although it is still considerably cheaper than the land value in city areas. Under these circumstances, the clan can hardly resist the temptation of relaxing the traditional rule of exclusiveness by permitting outsiders to live in and to set up business in the community. The native group has made a fortune by selling their land and investing the money in other economic enterprises.

Another source of income of the clan group was the renting of land and houses to the newcomers. The total sum was estimated at some 4,000 dollars per month. It enabled the hitherto soil-tilling farmers to join the rank of the rent-collecting class and also permitted them to seek additional income from industrial or commercial employment inside or outside the village. As reported, most clan members had, in fact, shifted to non-farming jobs.

Remittance from emigrated relatives to foreign countries or urban centers of Hong Kong was also a significant source of income for some families in the village. 6 clan and 19 immigrant families were found to receive remittance regularly. On the average, each of these 25 families received HK$179 per month. More specifically, it was $275 for each clan family and $148 for each immigrant family. As regards to remittance, the clan group seemed to have benefited more from emigration than the outsider group.

Adding all kinds of income together, we estimated that the average family income of the clan group as a whole was HK$852 per month, while that of the immigrant group was HK$695.

Regarding the household expenditures, the major items were food (about 60% of the total income), children's education (13%), and rent (10%). Taking other expenditures into account, each family on the average spent approximately HK$480 per month. It was about $518 for each clan family and $469 for each immigrant family. The monthly balance was thus $334 for each clan family, and $226 for each immigrant family. Compared with urban dwellers of similar socio-economic status, the people in Lok were in a more favorable financial situation. This explains why a number of people moved into, or remained to reside in, the village.

The above statistics lead to the conclusion that the livelihood of the villagers have been substantially improved. They have, however, paid a price: the previous self-sufficient farm economy was already replaced by an economy which is highly dependent on the outside world. As an overwhelming majority of the working population have shifted to manufacturing and services, their employment opportunities have to depend upon the job market in the larger society. Those remaining in farming have changed from the production of primary food to commercial crops which are also highly sensitive to price fluctuation in the urban market.

Some Generalized Remarks

Traditional villages were mostly with a relatively self-sufficient farm economy. The livelihood of peasants was primarily, if not entirely, dependent on the soil in the community. The earthbound psychology thus emerged and persisted for centuries. The village population was practically immobile.

There were at least three ways in which the earthbound compulsion was expressed. First, villagers were extremely reluctant to leave their homeland for places in the outside world. They preferred spending their live in the place they were born. Second, the place of work and the place of residence were usually the same. People rarely just resided in the village but worked in other places. Third, the native villagers were exclusive of outsiders. Immigration to the village was a rare phenomenon. People saw the same old faces in the village almost everyday.

The rise and growth of industrial-urbanism in the modern era, however, has led to the breakdown of this long-time practice. There are outsiders immigrating to the village, and meanwhile insiders outmigrating to other places especially the urban centers. In addition to immigration and outmigration, there is also the daily commuting of the village's working population. A large segment of the economically active dwellers in the village have to commute to the outside world to acquire their economic ambitions, and have thus turned the village into a dormitory community. The population in the village is no longer static. Its earthbound tradition was seriously eroded, as the people have become increasingly mobile.

The impact of industrial-urbanism is evidenced by the importance of economic motivation in guiding the various kinds of population movement including immigration, outmigration, and mobility of workers. Besides economic considerations, the expansion of school education, which is basically a product of industrial-urban growth, has also encouraged some of the young adults to leave the village in order to fulfill their occupational aspirations in urban areas. On the other hand, as the industrial-urban development makes the city areas more crowded, more polluted and more impersonal, more urban dwellers will move into the village and meanwhile more rural settlers will be reluctant to move out. Inspite of the constant mobility, therefore, the residential population of the village may not decrease but may instead increase. This has been the case in the Village of Lok.

The importance of warfare in the breaking of earthbound compulsion can not be overstated. It dislocates individuals and forces them to move. Immigrants to the Village of Lok, for instance, were found to arrive after the Second World War and the last civil war in the Chinese Mainland. Without the rise and growth of industrial-urbanism, however, these outsiders may not be able to break through the wall of exclusiveness in the village. Even if they were able to find a place to settle, they would most probably become earthbound again. There were a number of wars in the history of China, but the earthbound tradition in villages of various localities continued to survive until the modern age.

Population mobility under the impact of industrial-urbanism would cause fundamental changes in the economic structure of villages, especially those which are located nearby the major transportation routes. The primary change in agriculture is the shift from self-sufficient farming to commercial farming such as growing vegetables and flowers and raising fowls. Agricultural production becomes sensitively integrated to the outside market. More important is that farming gradually loses its importance and gives way to industrial production and services. In the case of Lok, for instance, an overwhelming majority of the working population has shifted to non-farming occupations inside or outside the village confines.

The change of economic types, resulting from the fading of earthbound compulsion under the impact of industrial-urbanism, may do more good than harm to the well-being, at least money-wise, of the people residing in a rural community. In the Village of Lok, the material conditions of its population and particularly the native group have been substantially improved. They are no longer on the subsistance level of living.

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THE COMMERCIAL MODEL AND SMALL SCALE AGRICULTURE

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There has been a tendency in many developing countries, as in most advanced countries, for agricultural economics to concern itself primarily with a certain general type of farm productive system even for smallholdings. Outside the Estate sector, this type of farming system is, in its pure form, quite rare in most developing countries, and is almost unknown in the indigenous sector of many such countries. This type of farming system is that which is fully commercialised and in which decisions are made solely on the basis of the long and short term relationships between the money cost of inputs and the money revenue of outputs. In the pure form of this system this applies even to unpaid family labour, which is assumed to be taken into this account at its opportunity cost. It is assumed, amongst other things, that the decision-maker is well informed, and that he decides between the alternative strategies available to him in such a manner as to maximise his net returns from the enterprise.

It is of course generally acknowledged that this is an idealised and somewhat inaccurate version of what goes on in the real world: that in practice a large number even of the pure commercial farms do their decision-making in what is from this point of view a rather ineffective and inefficient manner. But it is commonly assumed that this is simply due to a deficiency in understanding and/or knowledge on the part of the decision-maker, and that all farmers would follow the ideal if they were mentally equipped to do so. The policy implications that follow from this are that the process of development in rural ares can be very effectively supported by improving this mental equipment through the provision of extension services designed to make the farmers better aware of the real alternatives open to them, and to assist them in doing the sums necessary to make the correct decisions on this basis. In some cases attempts are made to do the sums for them, and this is one of the services which young agricultural economists in developing countries are sometimes required to perform.

Now this type of approach to rural development, through assistance to raise the quality of farm decision-making, has been pursued in many developing countries for many decades. However, it can hardly be denied that the results, compared with the effort put into obtaining them and the hopes held out, have in general been disappointing. This requires explanation.

There have undoubtedly been some successes. In the developing countries with which the writer is personally most familiar, there are some such. In Fiji, for example, smallholder sugar farming operates very effectively, by world standards, on this basis.

In Malaysia there are some rubber and, more recently, some oil palm smallholdings which operate quite effectively as small commercial farms. In Papua New Guinea there are a few areas of specially organised group development schemes, such as the oil palm smallholdings in New Britain, where the commercial element in farming is not only important, but possibly becoming dominant. On the other hand, the most successful and widespread commercial indigenous crop in New Guinea, coffee, is a very different type of operation involving a different farm productive system. In India, for which the writer is dependent on secondary sources of information, it is understood that there are some successful small commercial farms, for example in the Punjab, particularly where the size of farm has become substantially larger than the average, but generally speaking the response of India farmers has been disappointing by these standards, and their general level of commercial efficiency, whether measured in terms of output per unit of land, or output per unit of labour, tends to be disappointingly low. This is a type of judgement that could probably be applied to a large part of the agricultural sector in most parts of the developing world.

Faced with this situation, which has existed for many decades, the reaction of the agricultural economist and the development planner has been to seek an explanation and a cure by removing the impediments to the effective operation of the commercial farm. Apart from extension services, attempts have been made to mitigate the constraints deriving from lack of money capital by providing institutional sources of credit through agricultural banks and cooperative societies etc. Deficiencies in the supply of inputs have been treated in various ways, and in many countries very substantial efforts have been made to correct them. Examples range from the provision of nurseries to develop and supply improved planting materials, to the establishment of fertiliser factories and the development and distribution of new agricultural implements, to name but a few. Transport systems have been improved, supplemented and subsidised, as have facilities for storage and marketing. All of this has had some effect, but with a very few exceptions (of which I understand Taiwan may be one) it must be admitted that the effect has usually disappointed the hopes that were held out when the measures were instituted. Why is this?

One reason may be that the model we are assuming of the farm decision process is more than just a simplifying abstraction from reality; it is perhaps in many cases a serious over-simplification and a distortion. The type of farm we tend to talk about as agricultural economists is in fact a type of farm that is uncommon in many of the communities with which we are most concerned. The common type of farm in these communities differs from this model not only in degree but also in certain important qualitative aspects.

In most developing countries the family farm is considerably more than just a business enterprise. It is in fact the setting for a whole way of life. The attachment of the family members to the family farm is not by any means rooted only in its profits and earnings. It is very often the direct source of the main family food supply. It is a place of shelter from the elements, and farm enemies and from all that is strange. It is a place of comfort and security, where assistance can be counted on in need, and where a person's place in the world is assured and settled. It is a place of retirement for the old and the incapacitated. It is very often a place of religious significance and of magical associations. Its ownership may confer status in society and political influence as well.

When thinking, as agricultural economists, about the pure commercial farm, there is a tendency to think of the farm, and its assets, and the people on it, in rather a special way. They tend to be thought of as 'factors of production', of which each component has a clear-cut function and a value in the productive process. One of these factors of production is land, which may be owned by the family, or it may be rented in from other owners or from the state.

Land is an important productive factor in agriculture, and in the model of the commercial farm the importance of this role is recognised in the value placed on the land. This value has two aspects; there is the cost of applying it to agriculture, which is deemed to be the returns that could have been obtained from alternative uses of the land, or of its capital value in bonds or shares, from giving up the lease of land rented in and saving the rent paid on it. The other aspect is the revenue contribution the land makes to the income of the farm when it is used for production within the framework of that enterprise.

In the idealised model of the commercial farm, the farmer will add to his land by buying, or renting in, new portions up to the point where the cost of the last piece added is just equal to the addition to revenue that it makes possible. Land is thus assumed to be a tradeable factor of production, and the farm decision-maker will buy it, rent it in, sell it, or rent it out, in order to adjust his landholding to the most profitable combination of factors in the current market and production conditions.

There are, I suppose, some parts of the developing world where real life conditions approach those depicted in this model, but generally speaking they are very rare on small family farms.

In the rural communities of most developing countries land is regarded rather differently. Just how differently varies over a considerable range. In Malaysia, many Chinese regard land much in the way postulated in the commercial farm model. Most Malays, however, are reluctant to sell land, although they will often rent it out, and many are avid to buy it even where they have no immediate prospects of using it to produce an adequate commercial return. In some few cases there may be a speculative element in this, but for the vast majority of Malays land is by no means a simply commercial commodity; it is something that conveys social position, possibly even some local political influence and status, together with a sense of security and psychic satisfaction which other forms of investment cannot match in Malay eyes. The Malays form a kind of intermediate case between the commercial and the non-commercial landowner, for their attitude to land ownership is not entirely independent of anticipated returns, but can hardly be said to be very closely related to it, let alone to be determined by it.

In addition there are in Malaysia constraints of political origin that affect the tradeability of land, and the price of it where it is traded. Very considerable areas of rubber and padi land in Malaysia have been designated by law as Malay Reservations, and in these areas Malay owned land may not be sold to any person not of Malay race. The effect of this is to restrict considerably the market for such land, and thus to reduce the price of such land in comparison with other land of equal productive capacity not subject to that restriction, thus adding a further minor complication to the calculations of the commercial farm model.

In Fiji there is a further dichotomy in land values of political origin, but in that case it is even more widespread and pronounced. There the great majority of all land is held under Fijian customary tenure, and only a small part of the total land area of the country is individually owned and readily tradeable. This means that the politically imposed constraints on trade in land are very much more widespread and restricting. The Indian community of Fiji, which now comprises more than half the total population of the country, is highly commercially orientated, and this applies even to their farming activities. However for them access to farming land is difficult and restricted, giving it for them a very high scarcity value. For them therefore, the opportunity cost of the factor land in their commercial farming enterprise tends to be very high.

For the Fijians, on the other hand, although the majority of the land in Fiji is treated as a Fijian possession, conserved for their benefit, the vast majority have only a usufruct over the land they farm. Although Fijian land can be rented out, or even on occasion sold, the rules governing such transactions are restrictive and complex, and the transaction renting or selling such land is undertaken by a government appointed body acting on behalf of the Fijian communal groups recognised as having ultimate rights over the land concerned. The proceeds of such rent or sale go to the Fijian communities on a communal basis and not to the individual who may have at some time farmed the land. Thus for the Fijian small farmer, the option to sell or rent out land hardly exists in the form assumed in the model of our small commercial farm.

In Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and many other of the less sophisticated areas of South East Asia, land is frequently not a tradeable commodity for the small individual farmer.

In all these cases I have cited, more in Fiji than in Malaysia, but nevertheless to some important extent in all, the value of the land derives not only, and sometimes hardly at all, from its potential to the farm decision-maker as a factor of production, but is considerably influenced by the social, psychological, and even political advantages arising from its ownership and occupation.

Labour

Let us now consider the status of the factor labour. In the pure commercial farm, labour will be used to the point where the return from the last unit of labour used just equals the cost of that unit. The likelihood of any small farmer being able to make this calculation accurately in advance is of course quite remote. However, it is sufficient from the point of view of agricultural economics if the farm decision-maker does make this calculation to the best of his ability with the information available to him. In the long-run it should be possible through extension services to assist the farmer to improve the quality of his decision-making in this respect, and thus eventually to raise the level of efficiency of his farm management.

Where the farm decision-maker is an entrepreneur in any pure sense, operating on pure commercial principles, and obtaining his labour on the market as he requires it, the nature of the problem is relatively straightforward, because the cost of each unit of labour can be estimated fairly clearly in advance, and any uncertainty in the production function will be associated mainly with weather and other agronomic factors on the one hand, and market prices when the crop or other product is ready, on the other. These are problems to which the science of agricultural economics and its analytical tools can indeed make a useful contribution.

However, in most developing countries, small farm systems of this type are far from common, and in many they are extremely rare. First of all, it is rare for small farmers in developing countries to obtain all, or even a substantial proportion of their labour on the market. Most small farmers depend mainly, if not wholly, on their family members and other residents on the farm for the labour to operate the farm.

Let us examine three common patterns of farm labour supply found in developing countries:

1. Perhaps most common of all is the farm which relies on its own internal labour resources for the great majority of farm operations, and for most of the year, but which supplements this with some hired labour at periods of peak work needs—as at harvest, or in some cases when land is being prepared for planting.
2. Also common, particularly in countries in the earlier stages of development and sophistication, are farms which operate entirely without hired labour, though with the utilisation of some group labour from neighbours on a reciprocal basis at times of special need.
3. Less common, but of particular interest where found, is the pattern where the food and other essentials of living are produced by family labour on the farm as a self-subsistent enterprise, but in which hired labour is used to assist in the establishment, and perhaps even to some extent in the operation, of a cash-cropping enterprise for the market.

In the model of the pure commercial small farm, given a freely operating market for labour in the area, these distinctions would be of no particular importance, for labour would be freely hired out from, or in to the farm, and the opportunity cost of family labour on the farm would be the same as the cost of hired labour, i.e. the general wage rate in the farm area. The farm decision-maker would use family labour and hired labour indiscriminately up to the point where he calculated that the return from the last unit of labour just covered the cost. If this point were reached before his family labour had been fully employed, he would then hired out the surplus at the going wage. If, on the other hand, his family labour was fully employed before this point was reached, he would hire in labour from the market until the cost of the last unit was just covered by the revenue.

However, in practice one seldom finds a large freely operating labour market of this nature in the rural areas of a developing country, at least for the majority of the agricultural year. The idea of a going wage at which surplus labour can be hired out at will when not required on the farm, and from which supplementary labour can be hired in at will when required is seldom realistic. The more common experience would be that for the majority of the agricultural year a large proportion of farms would have surplus labour in very considerable quantities but no one is willing to hire them. On the other hand, at harvest and at other peak periods there may be a temporary shortage in which even those willing to hire can find no adequate labour available. Let us now consider what effect this has on the working of our model.

The pure commercial entrepreneur would not be bothered by the surplus for most of the year, because he would simply dispense with the surplus labour, sending them away and concerning himself no more about them. In the periods of shortage he would offer higher and higher wages to attract the labour he required to the point where he judged that the returns would just cover the cost. In doing this, he would be at some advantage compared with the less commercially-oriented farmers who had continued to support their labour over the period of surplus, for the substantial saving in costs over the major part of the year would enable him to afford a somewhat higher price for the brief periods of shortage. He might therefore be expected, even at that time, to be not unduly put out by the fluctuations in the market, provided that the labour he required would in fact go to him, and did not feel bound morally, or for reasons of expedience, to prefer the lower paying farmers who had sustained them through the majoirty of the year.

But the majority of farm decision-makers are not like this and do not feel able to dispense with family labour in the period of surplus. Instead they support them at subsistence level, or better if the farm productivity can stand it, whether there is work for them or not. Under these circumstances, one can regard the family labour in either of two distinct senses:

a. One can regard it as farm labour that is paid a subsistence wage irrespective of whether there is work for it or not.
b. One can regard it as a personal family expense of the farm decision-maker, and the opportunity cost of the occasional use of these dependents for farm work as zero.

These are important modifications to the pure commercial farm model, and the implications for farm decision-making are quite significant. However whether, as agricultural economists, we accept the cost of such labour as zero, or as being the equivalent of a constant subsistence level payment throughout the slack season, it is clear that our pure economic advice to the farm decision-maker would be that he should make the fullest possible use of this labour during the off-season for the minutest improvements to the farm, carrying such activities as weeding and maintenance to an extreme of thoroughness, because in accordance with even our revised formula, such use would not increase the farm costs, and should therefore be applied to the farm so long as there is any expectation that, now or in the future, such work might improve the revenue of the farm.

Just how sensible, however, would this advice be in practice? It is in fact virtually never done, and in most developing countries a considerable proportion of the available farm labour spends a large part of the labour year engaged in other activities, horizontal (i.e. of a restful nature) or otherwise, that add nothing to the productivity of the farm or to family income. Agricultural economists who advocate the logic of their models to the extremes that we have been discussing are unlikely to convince the farmers of anything much more than of their own ignorance of practical affairs. The reason is that almost no farmer is foolish enough to act wholly as the model of the pure commercial farm would suggest, that is to maximise his net income and that alone. If he maximises anything, it will be the satisfactions of his life, and this involves social, political, and psychological, as well as economic, welfare, for his family and friends, and other members of his community as well as for himself. Income, and particularly money income, whilst making an important contribution towards the achievement of such satisfactions, must not be confused with the satisfactions themselves, and is no more than one of a number of different means to their achievement.

Finally let us consider how the commercial farm model would determine the use of capital on the small family farm, and the manner in which this is modified in the decision-making of such farms in practice.

The more abstract and theoretical the framework in which one considers the question of capital use the simpler, in principle, are the determinants. In such abstraction, capital may be assumed to be a homogeneous factor of production employed in the farm enterprise up to the point where the marginal returns from its use are reduced to the level of those available from the alternative uses of the capital, that is to the level of the opportunity cost. In the simplest case the opportunity cost of capital may be taken as the bank rate of interest, after making some allowance for the variations in risks. Ignoring the uncomfortable complexities of the real world (such as variations in risk, imperfections in the capital market, etc.) the idealised situation would be one in which capital flowed freely into and out of the farm enterprise in accordance with variations in the rate of bank interest on the one hand, and in the prospect for farm returns on the other.

This, of course, never happens in the real world and no agricultural economist would be worth his salt if he operated on the assumption that it did. This applies in any agricultural enterprise almost irrespective of size, and the frictions and other barriers to such free responsive flows of capital in farm enterprise are too well-known to require iteration here. However, there are some impediments which are either peculiar to small family farms in certain common types of developing countries, or which are more restricting for them. Some of these may be very briefly touched on here as an indication that the special problems of applying the commercial model to these types of farms are not entirely confined to the factors labour and land.

First, in common with most farm enterprises, a very large part of the capital investment in a small family farm is in the form of improvements to the land, but unlike the larger commercial units, a large part of such investment is liable to be created by the use of unpaid family labour. This applies often also to farm buildings, tools and other capital items in use on the small family farm. This investment takes place in a different manner from that of the pure commercial enterprise, in that only a part, and often only a small part or none at all, comes directly from savings of money income or from borrowings. Much comes from reduction of leisure, or from diverting labour from income producing activities to capital production. The formation and maintenance of capital in these ways are necessarily more direct, and less flexible, than the pure commercial model would suggest, and the frictions and restrictions limiting the ability of the small family farm to adapt its capital structure to market variations are greater.

Second, access to the small monetary capital funds is often crucial to technological improvement on the farm and to the creation of money income flows from which conventional savings may accrue. Such access is often difficult and expensive for the small family farms because of the high risks and high cost of collection associated with small loans to scattered individual farm enterprises. This is a very common impediment in the early stages of commercial farm development. Special institutional provisions are usually necessary to give small farm enterprise adequate access to the credit resources of the country in the form of external economies. The system of Farmers' Associations in Taiwan, and the credit arrangements provided for certain services to sugar smallholders in Fiji, provide good examples. However, the effective operation of such systems, at reasonable cost, requires that some firm legal institution be created to place a large part of the marketing of the farm output under the control of the farm decision-maker. This tends further to modify the application of the pure commercial model to the small family farm by introducing what is effect monopsony into its market situation and removing some of the options that might otherwise have been accessible from the point of view of its production planning. In the initial stages therefore, where credit requirements are vital but small, there is a trade-off between access to credit at reasonable cost on the one hand, and freedom of decision about when, what and to whom to sell on the other. This is a constraint that is not too difficult to overcome in the commercial model, but which can lead to serious error if lost sight of in policy formation.

Third, capital on a small family farm is normally subject to strong demands of a non-commercial nature, for the fulfilment of socially imperative obligations to kin or neighbours. These demands tend to erode productive capital either by wear and tear in use by others off the farm (as with tools and plant loaned to neighbours) or by consuming it for non-farm and non-income producing purposes. The latter is particularly erosive of liquid capital resources such as money or stores of rice etc. and in some societies provides a serious barrier to the accumulation of working capital. Also, by competing strongly and immediately for ready cash when it becomes available, it is often a factor impeding capital and interest payments on borrowed funds, and thus indirectly in raising the cost of credit to such farms, unless even stronger institutional constraints and incentives to ensure priority to the credit repayments. Too simplistic an appliaction of the simple commercial model has on occasion led to the implementation of policies that have been very damaging to the small farm system by removing such constraints without adequately replacing the credit flows dependent upon them. A classic case of this was the implementation of the Land Nationalisation Act of 1948 in Burma which indirectly, and quite unintentionally, reduced rice production by removing the basis by which traditional supplies of seasonal credit had been secured to small farms, and forcing a change from transplanting to cheaper but less productive broadcast seeding.

The effect of all this is that analysis of small-scale peasant agriculture based on the abstraction of the pure commerical enterprise, leaves out so much from reality that the conclusions can be disappointingly misleading. In particular, the basis for decisions regarding the movement of factors of production into and out of the small family farm is affected not only by economic determinants that are not clearly shown in the more abstract commercial model, but also by social and political determinants that are often completely excluded.

LAND TENURE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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I

Two decades ago a fairly active debate was raging about whether first priority in the development efforts of the underdeveloped countries should be given to industry or to agriculture. There is now pretty wide consensus that the extremists on both sides of this debate were wrong, and that the complementarities between agriculture and industry are so pervasive that except in very unusual cases neither sector can progress without substantial growth in the other.

The early proponents of industry took the view that the essence of development was to be found in the process of industrialization. After surveying the countries of the world, they pointed out that there is a remarkably good inverse correlation between per capita levels of gross national product and the proportions of the labor force engaged in agriculture. Indeed one would not go far wrong if one were to define and underdeveloped country as one in which more than 40 per cent of the labor force is engaged in agricultural pursuits. The undoubted association between development and industrialization appeared to some to justify the view that growth in agriculture was relatively unimportant. However, the fact that countries, like people, as they grow richer spend a declining fraction of their incomes on food and devote a diminishing proportion of their main hours to agriculture, does not imply that improved productivity in agriculture is unnecessary for economic growth. The statistical truth can be better explained by the opposite inference, namely that it is only because of increasing agricultural productivity that man can be liberated from slavish dependence on rural drudgery.

On the other side of the argument was a group we may call the romantic ruralists. Many of this group emphasized rural development not for economic reasons but because they felt that the good life was to be found in the villages and on the soil. In part this was a reaction to an equally romantic approach to industrialization which saw in the acquisition of a steel mill the essential elements of national prestige and symbolic modernization, whether the mill could compete internationally or not. But the romantic ruralists have never been able to show how a country can develop by concentrating on agriculture alone. As we have learned more about the mutually supporting interrelationships among the different sectors of a developing economy, we have come increasingly to recognize that whatever happens to the labor force, productivity must rise rapidly in both industry and agriculture if either is to realize its full potential.

The interrelationship that exists between agricultural productivity and general economic development is such as to stress the urgent need for increased agricultural production. The reasons why development depends on agricultural growth are familiar, but in appraising the importance of agricultural modernization, it may be worthwhile to mention these reasons briefly. The first and most familiar reason has to do with the population explosion. The world's population is now growing each year at approximately the rate at which it grew each century until about 1600, namely 2 to 3 per cent. This means that merely to maintain present per capita food consumption levels requires an expansion in world food supplied of 2 or 3 per cent per year. This expansion can no longer be achieved, as it has been earlier in history, by moving the new population onto new land. As population growth mounts, the supply of cultivable but uncultivated land is shrinking to the vanishing point.

Perhaps more important, the average diet in most of the underdeveloped world is grossly deficient. The economic reflection of this nutritional requirement is to be found in the fact that in low income countries the population will spend the major part of any increase in income on additional purchases of food. The income elasticity of demand for food—the percentage increase in food purchases which can be expected to result from a one per cent increase in per capita income—is between 0.5 and 0.8 in the low income countries. Thus the higher the per capita rate of growth in gross national product to which the underdeveloped countries aspire, the higher rate of growth in effective food demand which they must expect. If these countries aspire to a rate of growth of per capita incomes of 3 or 4 per cent per year, the additional food demand which this will generate will be another 2 or 3 per cent. Taking these factors together it is clear that the underdeveloped countries must achieve a minimum rate of growth of food availability of at least 5 per cent per year if they are to meet even the more modest of their targets of development expressed in terms of growth rates of GNP.

There is another way of looking at the interdependence of agriculture and industry. An important sector of industry, representing a larger fraction of all industry in underdeveloped countries than in developed countries, is dependent for its operation on agricultural raw materials. This includes not only food processing but such industries as textiles, leather and rubber products, paper, tobacco, and beverages. These industries and their associated raw material requirements grow at rates substantially higher than those of the gross national product as a whole. This reinforces the point just mentioned that the availability of agricultural commodities must grow faster the higher the targets are set for industrial growth.

Another consideration is that the growth of domestic industry requires the expansion of markets for its products. The market will be limited if it is confined to the urban sector, which, however rapidly it grows, will remain for some time a small fraction of the population of these countries. But the market can extend into the countryside only if rural productivity and purchasing power expand. While it is unlikely that the growing labor force can be absorbed in direct agricultural employment as it is that it can be taken up in urban industry, rising levels of agricultural productivity and incomes can lead to substantial increases in employment in rural activities supporting agriculture. Some of these, like marketing, distribution, packaging, and supplying of inputs and credit, will automatically expand as rural production rises.

The other aspect of the mutual interdependence of agricultural and industrial development is of course that adequate growth in agricultural productivity is in most cases impossible without a simultaneous growth in industrial output. There are many reasons why this is so. In the first place, rapid agricultural growth in the more crowded of the underdeveloped countries can be achieved only if per acre yields can be multiplied severalfold from their present levels. This in turn requires transforming traditional agriculture which uses very limited inputs purchased from industry into a more modern commerical form in which the typical farm becomes a business enterprise purchasing large quantities of fertilizer, pesticides, tools, pumps, and other inputs, and utilizing much larger quantities of transport, power, water and other public utilities. Some of these industrial inputs into modern agriculture can be imported, but at least for the larger underdeveloped countries foreign exchange limitations require that a major part of the new commerical requirements of agriculture be supplied from domestic sources.

Second, the fact that to raise yields the farmer must buy much larger quantities of purchased inputs means that he must sell his products for cash. This in turn means that there must be a rapidly expanding money demand for agricultural output which is most likely to be sparked by urban-industrial development. Unless non-agricultural incomes are rising rapidly, the expanded trade between agriculture and industry required for agricultural modernization cannot take place.

Third, powerful economic incentives are needed to induce the predominately subsistence farmer to plunge into the risky business of commerical farming. An expanded money income will be attractive to him only if he can use the income to buy the manufactured goods he wants on favorable terms, This will be possible only if the economy contains a flourishing industrial sector able to take advantage of substantial economies of scale in both manufacture and marketing. One of the problems in some underdeveloped countries is that the government efforts to keep the urban costs of living down through price control on agricultural products combined with tariff protection for domestic industry have turned the terms of trade between agriculture and industry rather sharply against the former and this discouraged the development of commercial agriculture. If a farmer sees that the prices of the industrial products are rising, while the price he can get for a cash crop remains low, he has less incentive to go into commercial farming.

Finally, it is important to bear in mind that increases in per capita incomes in agriculture, which are necessary to permit marginal savings rates to rise, cannot be easily brought about without a significant expansion of non-agricultural employment opportunities to drain off some of the surplus population now dependent on the land in many parts of the underdeveloped world. Agriculture can escape from the low-income trap characterized by low saving and investment and consequent stagnant productivity only if the rest of the economy is moving forward vigorously.

Thus the performance of agriculture in at least the larger of the underdeveloped countries is of vital concern not only to those interested in rural development but also to anyone committed to the promotion of sustained national economic development.

The worsening food crisis is becoming evermore apparent. Much of our world is having difficulty feeding itself. Although the productivity of agriculture has advanced in many of the underdeveloped nations, in the regions where most of humanity lives the ancient art of agriculture has been unable to keep pace with the swelling demands resulting from the twin pressures of the population explosion and rising industrial incomes. Agriculture has lagged behind industry, and in country after country it is now acting as a brake on economic growth. The gap in living standards between the underdeveloped and the developed nations is widening dangerously. The purpose of this paper is to examine land tenure systems and their impacts on economic development.

II

The expression "land tenure" describes all those arrangements by which "farmers" or others hold or control land and which determine its occupancy and use. In this context "land tenure" covers not only right in land, it encompasses agricultural economic institutions generally, including agricultural land ownership and tenancy, land rents, taxation of agricultural land or income from land, and even rural credit facilities. The term "land reform" usually covers the changes in these agricultural economic institutions which as a rule affect the economic, social, and political changes conceived for general economic development.

In areas with rapid population increase the agricultural situation is characterized by an inadequacy of agricultural resources in relation to the farming population. Small, inefficient farms tend to be the rule, although a scattering of large estates is not unknown. With a surplus of farmers competing for the use of land—for an opportunity to work—landowners may frequently be able to retain a disproportionate share of the returns from the land.

In areas where agricultural resources, in relation to the agricultural population, are adequate even though underdeveloped, the problem, and therefore, its solution, is different. The possibility of developing economic farming units which will provide a reasonable level of living for the operator is much greater.

At least Western experience indicates that for most types of farming the family farm is likely to be a highly efficient and productive types of organization. The family farm is socially very desirable and conducive to social stability. Such a family farm is such a unit as can be operated by the labor of the family or with the employment of very little outside labor; it provides an income sufficient for a family living, including saving sufficient for farm maintenance and improvement. However in areas where population pressure is great, units are so small that deterioration rather than improvement is the likely prospect. Under these circumstances farmers are in no position to maintain their land resources, improve their economic status, or land support to the stability of political institution.

If the farms are too small, it may be necessary to produce crops yielding high income per unit of land even though national interest, market outlets, or other conditions may call for the production of other crops. When farms are too small, land redistribution merely for the purpose of transferring ownership and operation to a greater number of individuals may not be a help to the individuals concerned or to the nation.

The traditional land tenure system as existed in Asia at the end of the Second

World War has often been considered a major factor in preventing agricultural modernization. It has often been identified as being exploitive, unproductive, and undemocratic. We have witnessed significant and even radical changes in the land tenure systems in 1950's and 1960's in Asia. They took place in various forms, from abolition of intermediaries, reduction in rent, legal protection of tenants, ceiling legislation, land distribution and consolidation.

In much of the discussion of alternative patterns of agrarian reorganization, radical land redistribution was initiated by the Republic of China in Taiwan and was imposed on Japan, patterning along the concept of the American family farm system. However it must be borne in mind that there is an enormous difference between the units of ownership and the units of cultivation in Asian agriculture. The "farm" in Asia bears no resemblance to farming units found in North America or Europe. The Asian farm is not an economic unit composed of a house for the operator, a garden, and a collection of buildings for storing crops and sheltering animals and machinery. The farming unit is simply a piece of land, or more often a number of scattered small strips, barren of fixed investment other than perhaps a well or, at times, some ternacing and drainage or irrigation channels.

When toe work on these land was done by sharecroppers or other tenants and by landless laborers, the transfer of title to the tiller disturbed very little the established pattern of operation. From the point of view of labor utilization, a radical land redistribution has an impressive recommendation. It holds out the promise of creating the basis for a major transformation in the psychology and attitudes of the rural labor force by cutting through the deterrents to work that is said to have long been entrenched in the traditional pattern of inequalities. Those now landless would be elevated in status and dignity, and placed in a position to reap the rewards of more diligent effort. A radical land redistribution also promised that it would encourage those who acquaired land in the redistribution to work more intensively and use slack periods in making output-raising improvements. In particular it promised it might cut through the debilitating influence of the prevalent sharecropping system. Meanwhile, cultivating peasants whose holdings were reduced by such a redistribution might work more intensively so as to recover at least part of their lost income.

Despite the important fact that a radical land redistribution may have wholelly favorable effects on an increased productivity because it attacks aspects of the agrarian environment that have stifled initiative and incentive, it does not remove the obstacles to agricultural advance. Much would remain to be accomplished through the assimilation of technological innovations designed both to raise output and to increase the utilization of labor. A radical land redistribution may create a climate more receptive to the assimilation of these innovations. There are, however, innovations that require joint efforts if they are to be economic. Some potential output raising innovations, such as irrigation works and the rationalization of the use of animal or tractor power, offer genuine economics of scale. To achieve these economies, planning must be based on units larger than the individual holding. A program of radical redistribution of land often means that these potential gains were sacrifieed.

Even if these potential gains are realized and the effects on output are favorable on all counts, a radical redistribution of land might still reduce the volume of marketable foodstuffs. Once released from the obligation to part with a large share of their crop to landowners, former tenants might easily be tempted to augment their low levels of consumption. Of course nutritional improvements are desirable in the interest of health and work performance. But the problem of feeding the non-agricultural population would continue and might very easily be aggravated by such a change. This problem is not easily manageable through price policy. Where only a minor fraction of the farming units make significant contributions to marketed food supplies, it should be pointed out that a normal market situation does not exist. Higher prices would not call forth greater production as economists reared in Western thinking are inclined to suppose. And, apart from the effects on production, higher prices are not likely to call forth increased marketable surpluses, but may result in greater consumption and hoarding. A compulsory delivery system could be combined with a radical land redistribution, but such a move might frustrate many of the favorable psychological effects sought through the redistribution.

In the longer perspective, there is still another problem to be taken into account. In the absence of other protective measures, it would be erroneous to view a redistribution of land as a satisfactory long-term solution to the problem of Asian agriculture. The title transferred to the actual tillers might easily be eroded by the same forces that have undercut peasant proprietorship in the past. Many of the new and old owners of farms would start out in debt to moneylenders. And once a title is conferred on sharecroppers and landless laborers, their credit standing would improve and they would be tempted to borrow more. A process would be started that in the end would separate them from their holdings. Population growing would also encourage the attendant evils of fragmentation and subdivision of holdings.

To be a permanent improvement, a radical land distribution would have to be supplemented by an equally radical elimination of past debts to moneylenders plus a prohibition on any new borrowings from them, and legislation prohibiting the mortgaging and sale of the land would certainly dry out any capital flow to the agricultural sector. Moreover, legislation designed to block future subdivision or fragmentation and prohibit the sale of land might collapse under pressures from the increase in the labor force in agriculture. An increase in the proportion of landless in the agrarian population may be unavoidable. At best, a radical land redistribution could thus only be thought of as a once-and-for-all change in the land tenure pattern, one that by virtue of its shock effect might cut through the obstacles to more intensive labor utilization that exist before the redistribution. Thus it appears that a radical land redistribution—despite its substantial merit in meeting the problem of dignity and status head on—does not even in theory represent a wholly favorable alternative to the traditional land tenure system

If a radical redistribution of land to the tillers is not only unrealistic and afflicted with certain practical defects, a nationalization of landholdings might seem to be a more favorable alternative. The problems of fragmentation and the dispersion of small holdings could be overcome; rational land use and planning could be introduced; the technical capabilities of irrigation could be better exploited; and the economies of sand that would accompany a rationalization in power supplies could be achieved.

All of these gains lend considerable strength to proposals for a major consolidation of existing holdings into larger operational units. They form the basic economic rational underlying the proposals for joint cooperative farming in the various south Asian countries. Cooperative farming ventures in Asia have fallen far short of achieving these objectives. The gains obtainable from the operation of larger units are possibly only when the planned area is all-inclusive. As long as participation in joint cooperative farming is voluntary, it is highly unlikely that land would be pooled on any appreciable scale. Although particular pains have been taken to honor the rights of private property in the Indian cooperative arrangements, they have failed to evoke any notable enthusiasm among resident landowners in villages, and still less among the landless. From the point of view of increasing productivity, one can conclude that the cooperative approach to land consolidation has failed to fulfill its promise.

A variation on the theme of radical land consolidation—though one that most of the Asian governments have thus far rejected—would be the introduction of compulsory collective farming modelled on the Seviet *kolkoz* or Communist China's commune. Consolidation on these terms can insure comprehensive geographical coverage and economies of scale unobtainable when private owners refuse to participate. Moreover, by wiping out private titles to land, a vigorously administered system of compulsory consolidation could erase the traditional cleavages in social and economic status that have rested on the ownership of land.

Such a radical approach to the agrarian problem has usually been ruled out in official discussion because democratic consent could not be won. Certainly enthusiasm for a radical expropriation can be found among a peasantry that jealously guards its private title to even small plots of land. Nor is support for such measures likely to be found among the landless; their aspirations are for a plot of their own rather than for participation in collective ventures. Although this opposition could, in theory, always be overrideen if sufficiently ruthless measures were appeared, the legacy of such tactics might be—as experience shows in some countries—an embittered agrarian population more inclined to sabotage agricultural productivity than to advance it.

Particularly when this negative effect of collectivization is taken into account, it is difficult to see what advantage could be obtained from this approach that could not be obtained with far less social strain through a program combining a radical redistribution of land with service cooperation and intensified agricultural extension programs. But there is another limitation to a radical collectivization program that is at least as serious as mentioned above. None of the gains potentially attainable by a radical consolidation of landholdings through compulsory cooperative farming arrangements can be realized unless a vast administrative apparatus is developed. In the present state of these economies, it is naive to expect that the skills available to governments in Asia are sufficient either in quality or in quantity for the satisfactory execution of these tasks. Even the limited programs thus far undertaken have suffered grievously from the absence of the necessary knowledge and talents.

III

On balance, neither of the two extreme measures for agrarian reorganization—radical land redistribution or radical land consolidation—appears to provide a feasible approach to the problems of the land tenure systems in Asia. In theory each of these options, however, has something to recommend it. Radical redistribution offers the possibility of overcoming a major deterrent to effective labor utilization, represented by the status inferiority of sharecroppers and the landless the retreat from work by many of the present landowners and in general the absence on both sides of strong motives for hard work, investment, and improvement. Radical consolidation, on the other hand, offers at least some prospect of the creation of an administrative framework suited to the exploitation of economies of scale and the successful application of technical innovations. But these approaches are deficient in other respects. Both have a doctrinaive saint that makes their realism suspect; and for their successful implementation both call for supplies of technical and administrative talents beyond the present capacity of Asian governments.

In canvassing for an alternative land tenure system, it will be useful to begin with the following investigations:

1. What is the influence of land tenure change and of industrialization on population and especially on the rate of population growth?
2. What influence does land tenure change and industrialization have on productivity per worker, per unit of land, per unit of capital and what influence does it have on capital requirements, that is requirements for private as well as for social capital! Does changes from tenancy to owner cultivation or change in the type and rules of tenancy make for any appreciable increase in productivity (input-output relation).
3. What is the influence of land tenure change and of industrialization consumption or, to express it differently, on effective demand? Does change make for increased demand because of the increased desire to emulate others (demonstration effect)?
4. How does land tenure change and industrialization influence the balance of exports and imports, hence the requirments of capital imports? The balance will, in large extent, depend on the answer to the previous questions on consumption, savings, investment requirement, etc.
5. How does land tenure change and industrialization influence the rate of savings and/or investment.
6. Does not rapid development under all circumstances mean rapid social change? If so, are not concomitant political changes practically unavoidable, and may some of these not be in the direction of what we commonly called "Western democracy"?

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND GOAL CONFLICTS

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1. Short Reconsideration of Recent Rural Development in Japan. [1]

After the 2nd World War, it is usually said to ascribe to the Land Reform, that the rapid rise of income of rural area in Japan had been accomplished according to the rising of its productivity. From this point of view, Land Reform is said to contribute greatly to rural development in Japan. And in this sense, certainly it has been appraised reasonably.

At the same time, especially after the middle of 50th, we can not ignore the features of rapid change appeared in Japan's rural area.

One of them is a large quantity of emigration of the rural young people to the urban area. The decrease of the number of farmers in rural area is remarkable as following table shows: [2]

Table 1 Unit: Thousand

1960	13,270
1965	11,000
1970	8,750
1972	7,530

From the economic point of view, the reason of this rapid labour movement from rural area to urban area is, needless to say, the unevenness of the income between both areas.

Another measure of change may be expressed by the rapid change of price of the land—the other valuable resource which is immobile. The rapid rise of the land price has been appeared not only in the urban area, but also in rural area. The following table shows the trend of change of the farm land price.

Table 2 Unit: Y/m

1960	186
1965	325
1970	1,163
1972	1,663

For reference, as another data as for rural development, the total investment for the agriculture is as follows:

In order to level the income difference between urban and rural areas, a lot of

Table 3

	Unit: 100 Million Y
1960	3,177
1965	6,963
1970	13,715
1972	15,479

policies have been introduced since its recognition. The main well-known policies are as follows. 1) the positive introduction of industrial investment to rural areas; 2) subsidization for the farm products; 3) protective trade policy.

However, regardless of the apparent successful land reform and the various kinds of policies accompanied it thereafter as above-mentioned, Japan has to face a lot of contingencies. Also, compared with Japan's successful industrial development, the agricultural industry has suffered stagnation mainly based on Japan's scarce endowment of resources—land.

2. Some Reprospect and Comments:

The rapid urbanization is said to have destroyed harmonious interrelation between the human life and the nature, during the term which I overviewed as above, the problem of public nuisance has appeared as one phenomenon of it. Namely, all kinds of industrial and urban pollution of water and air becomes more and more serious. According to it, we have to face the so-called goal conflicts. After the war, it had been succeedingly urgent and sufficient target for us to follow the levelling up of the productivities in all kinds of industries. But now, such a direct target seems to have been disappeared from one view. Hitherto, levelling up of income or environment has been mainly brought by industrialization. On the other hand, the same industrialization lets us recognize the fact that the reservation of nature and environment is indispensable for us.

Furthermore, this recognition of the environmental reservation is itself not necessarily common at the various kind of the stages of developments, by the countries or even by the regions in a country.

Accordingly the setting of the common measure for the assessment for the goal of social development seems to become very different.

After these brief retrospections, I would like to stress, with famous scholar of economics, Malthus, that short-sighted reasonableness is not necessarily reasonable one from viewpoint of long time prospective of social development.

Finally, I will add as another comment that the total and unified or synthetic view point is indispensable for us to assess the social development.

NOTE

1. I owe some part of this paper to Prof. Z. Wakata. But all of the responsibility of possible mistakes in this paper ascrible to the author. And I would like to express my gratitude for his aspiration to session chairman Mr. R. Eugen, Dr. K. K. Chang and Prof. Y. Takahashi to present the paper.
2. The figures of the tables in this paper are quoted from, K. Takeda, *The Food Crisis and A view of Japanese Agriculture*, PP. 97, 135, and 68.

DETERMINING STRATEGY IN A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

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Development is not only much talked about in Indonesia, but also development programs are actively pursued. The majority of the Indonesian people have felt the benefits of many of these programs. Effectiveness of development programs in Indonesia is influenced by numerous factors, including social conditions, the political situation, security, and culture. If these factors are favorable there is a greater possibility that the planning and implementation of programs will run smoothly, in accordance with the strategies already determined.

Practical experience has provided amble evidence that an appropriate strategy is of utmost importance for the implementation of a development plan. An appropriate strategy not only produces effective results but also makes possible the extension and development of the program to other areas.

The following discussion on strategy is based on experience and observation of numerous community development programs already implemented.

The Problem

One of the goals of a community development program is to raise the welfare of a community in terms of both material and spiritual well-being. In fact the emphasis in community development is on the latter, eg. human development. As community members take increasingly more active roles in the process of development, their capacity for development increases. Experience has proved that the level of participation of the community will determine the final results of any development program.

Development itself consists of both renewal and change. Change from the unsatisfactory to something which is better, and change from the old to the new which is both more efficient and more effective.

Due to numerous factors, rural communities are generally in a state of backwardness—backwardness in education, social-economic conditions, and tied to customs and traditions which retard development. In brief, the mental attitudes and cultural values currently predominant in a society very often present obstacles to the smoothrunning of the development process.

Under such conditions it is necessary for the Government and other organizations with appropriate skills to take a more active role in development. In fact their participation will strongly influence the success of the development program. However, the problem remains of how to determine an appropriate strategy and direction so that the role assumed by the Government and other bodies does not stifle the participation of the community, but instead produces the opposite effect by encouraging the community to participate actively. Or in other words, where is the balance between mobility from above and participation from below?

In order for development to proceed there are certain conditions which must be met. These include:

1. Cultural conditions.
   - 1.1 The community must be willing and capable of using every opportunity to raise their standard of living (for this the value of science and technology cannot be denied).
   - 1.2 The community must change from a state of passivity to more actively involving themselves in solving the problems they face.
   - 1.3 The community must possess an open mind toward new ideas and activities.
2. Community structures.
   - 2.1 In every type of activity it is important to have a group within the community which is creative.
   - 2.2 It is equally important to have a critical group in a community which can analyse and evaluate the new ideas and activities proposed.

From these conditions it can be concluded that the community is a crucial factor for the continuation and success of development programs. It is clear that the community is not just an object which receives the fruits of development. The community is the subject which determines the results of development itself. The community must be the major implementor of programs in order to guarantee the continuation of development and the attainment of maximum results. There is no option but for the community to participate in development.

Alternative Strategies for Development.

1. Several considerations.
   - 1.1 In view of the factors mentioned above, certain conditions must be met to obtain optimal results in a development program. These include:
     - a. the Government must provide guidance, in view of the major role of the Government.
     - b. the program must meet the conditions demanded by development.
     - c. must reflect community participation.
   - 1.2 It is true that many communities have not reached the situation and conditions demanded by development. On the other hand, development demands immediate implementation to overcome the many problems and inadequacies confronting the community. Objectively the community needs to feel immediately the results of development.
   - 1.3 Community participation has a dual aim. Apart from providing material results, the capacity of the community has to be raised to enable them to play an active role in development. This is a new concept for the community and can only be accepted by the community through a lengthy process.
   - 1.4 There are many organizations already existing in the community through which community participation can be channeled.

2. Strategy.

On the basis of the above considerations, an ideal strategy in the implementation of a development program must fulfill a number of conditions, including the following:

2.1 It should be in accordance with local/regional/national development plans.

2.2 It should provide an opportunity for the community or a section of the community to learn, train and try, and thereby increase their experience from the program. This will give rise to initiative, creativity, and a critical group within the community.

2.3 It should give an opportunity to the community and others interested and involved in the development program to participate fully.

2.4 Program continuity must be guaranteed.

2.5 It should be useful, meet needs, and be felt as widely and as evenly as possible.

If these conditions can be met, all the potentials and capacities in the community can be utilized, and qualitatively improved at the same time. In the long run the community is not only capable to taking an active role but is better prepared to assume responsibility. They are increasingly creative and will be able to take more and more initiative. Only in this way will development achieve maximal results.

Use of Local Volunteers or Cader.

One way of promoting community development and community participation is to prepare a portion of the community members to assume a leading role in development programs. These people are chosen and prepared mentally by the whole community whom they represent and given special training in specific skill areas. It is this group, called cader, which can be given responsibility and invited to take part in program preparation, planning, implementation, and evaluation.

In this way the cader are not only capable and understand about program implementation, but they know why the program is implemented as it is. Since they are involved from the beginning, their motivation is strong. With such strong enthusiasm and dedication, they are capable of guiding the further development of the program.

Thus the people feel that this is their program, and they feel responsible for its continuation and expansion. In technical matters, the cader receive special preparation, and they are continually given guidance and supervision. For these reasons there are no obstacles for their carrying on the activities which have been started.

Because they are appointed by the community members, and receive their blessing, programs which the cader plan and carry out also become the programs of the community and receive their full support. Moreover the cader always work in consultation with the community members, both during training and through motivational sessions.

In conclusion, by using cader, man's capabilities and potential increases and the development program itself expands and develops. As a result, the community can respond quickly and in an appropriate way to programs initiated by others, such as the Government. With full initiative and creativity the community can develop programs which have been begun by the Government. This does not mean blindly carrying out instructions which have been handed down, but instead they are capable of developing a program in both quantitative and qualitative terms.

Moreover, because of strong personal motivation and continual skill-training and guidance, continuity of programs can be guaranteed.

Developing and Expanding Programs.

Any program which has proven itself worthy can be developed and expanded. For this reason it is necessary to begin a program in a limited area at first. This Center of Development may be used for research, experimentation, and also for training of potential program implementors.

Such a Center should best be established in cooperation with the Government, private institutions and other organizations which are concerned with Community Development. These groups need to make contact with one another, hold discussions and consultations with a goal of deciding on a suitable project location, what kinds of activities sould be carried out, and what methods will be used

Within this framework the local Government, with all its agencies, gives legality to the program, as well as direction, guidance, financial support, supervision, etc. With this approach the program will be able to run smoothly in accordance with regional and national development plans. Private organizations, both local and international, can assist with expertise and funds.

A strategy of this sort will ensure a stable program at the local level, because it is within the guidelines provided by plans established at the macro level. Even more so, with appropriate channels, experiences at the micro or local level can provide invaluable feedback for policy makers at the macro level. In this way macro planning can best be suited to meet the needs and desires of the micro level.

Decentralization of these programs takes the form of community level projects. Tried and tested with individuals trained in the program, principles may be gleaned from the Center of Development which will have wider applicability. Persons trained in the Center of Development will be well propared to implement programs in their own areas.

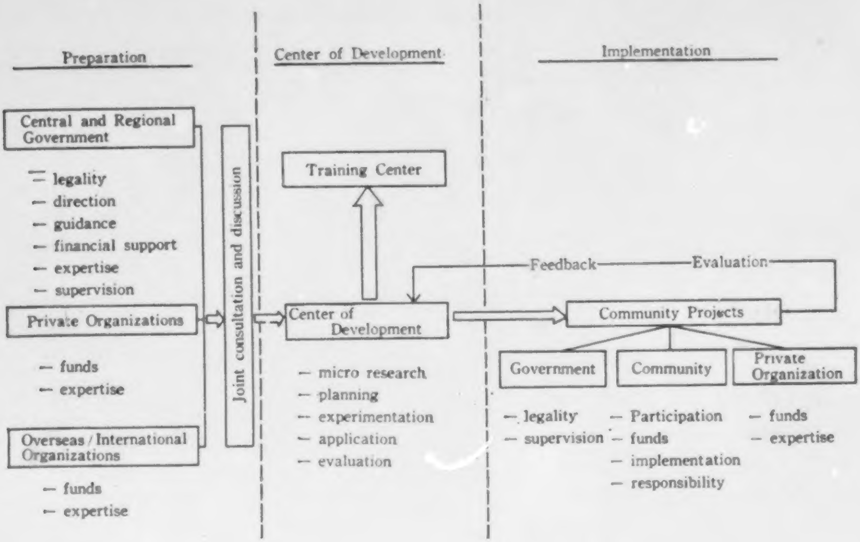
Implementation of community projects is in the hands of a joint body comprising individuals representing the Government, the Community, and Private Organizations. Community projects are always evaluated by the community itself, and these evaluation results provide valuable feedback to the Center of Development. The Center may then carry out studies and experimentation based on the data received from the community, and the results of these activities are once again fed back into the community projects.

This pattern for development strategies is illustrated diagramatically below.

Conclusions:

Implementation of Community Development programs based on a suitable strategy can not only provide maximum results which are felt by all sectors of the community, but also program extension and expansion is made easier and quicker.

With a suitable strategy, development not only provides material benefits but also



spiritual satisfaction to those who have implemented the program. As program implementation progresses, man himself progresses and develops. People who are awakened by having taken part actively in a program since its inception are more capable of carrying out programs, and therefore results will be maximal.

The process of development will be accelerated and meet its goals if it is supported by all elements, including the Government, the Community itself, and other Institutions which concern themselves with Development programs.

In conclusion if this strategy can be carried out successfully, then the goal of community welfare can be achieved.

URBANIZATION AND RURAL CHANGE

—*Tambon* Om Noi near Bangkok—

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1. Objectives

This is a report of my field research which was carried out at *Tambon* Om Noi during 1972–73 under the cooperation of the National Research Council in Thailand. The purpose of the research was threefold: (1) to provide materials which may represent a type of rural change under the impact of urban encroachment; (2) to reconstruct processes of ecological adaptation of those who used to be rice producing farmers; (3) to determine the core-area of change and look for its consequences upon different aspects of rural life such as standard of living, family and kinship, village organization, cultural premises, and social consciousness. The field research was designed to deal with a recent development during the 15 years of 1957–1972 (B.E. 2500–2515).

2. Setting

Tambon Om Noi is a village consisting of thirteen hamlets (muban) with a population of about 7,000 in 1973. It is situated some 25 kilometers westwards from the center of the Greater Bangkok and occupies a small portion of the lower Cho Phraya delta on the east bank of the Tha Chin River (Fig. 1). The Phet Kasem Highway, running from Thon Buri to Nakhon Pathom, passes through the village and makes a junction at the middle way with the Setakit Road which leads southwards to the provincial capital of Camut Sakhon.

Administratively the village is incorporated into the province of Samut Sakhon. The province itself consists of three districts. *Amphur* Muang, occupying the southern part of the province, lies across the Tha Chin River at its mouth. Since the district extends along sea coast, fishing, sault farming, processing of sea products are most important industries among the local people. Agriculture has been less prosperous, only 44% of the land being under cultivation. Other two districts are located in the northern part; *Amphur* Ban Phaeo being on the west bank, and *Amphur* Krathum Baen on the east bank of the river. The two districts lie in the southern portion of the lower Chao Phraya delta and make an important rice producing area. The percent of total area in agriculture was as high as 90% according to the Statistical Directory of 1965. Especially *Amphur* Krathum Baen has been famous for its rice-production and provides rice to the district of *Amphur* Muang.

Within the province *Tambon* Om Noi occupies the northernmost of *Amphur* Krathum Baen, which comprises ten tambon. The administrative boundaries of the village are adjacent to *Amphur* Sam Phran of Nakon Pathom on the west, and *Amphur* Nong Kaem of Thom Buri on the east (Fig. 2). The village domain spreads about three kilometers wide along two highways, but hamlets are formed in accordance with canal systems rather than roads. In some hamlets houses are built in line along canals, while in others dispersed each being close to a canal. Before World War II, in fact, canal systems were only means of transportation by which to go to the district town, provincial capital, or even as far as Bangkok. There are two major canals in the village, *Khlong* Om Noi and *Khlong* Si Samran; and their names have been respectively applied to Buddhist temples in the village.

The province of Samut Sakhon was once known as a port by the name of Sakhon Buri during the reign of Cakrabarti (1549–69) in the Ayutthaya period. But *Tambon* Om Noi does not seem to be settled as old as the port Sakhon Buri. It must be much later days that the village and its environs developed to be a granary of the country. The following data suggest it was about 1870 that people first settled down somewhere around hamlet No. 4, which has been called *Muban Khlong* Om Noi.

The construction of the Om Noi Canal is unknown. However *Wat* Om Noi, which is a Buddhist temple built on the bank of the canal, keeps a record saying that it was founded in 1875 by the contribution of earlier settlers. They brought used building materials from *Wat* Thammamosit, which is now *Wat* Rang at *Tambon* Om Jai in *Amphur* Sam Phran of Nakhon Tathom. One of the iniciators was the grandfather of the present headman of hamlet No. 4, who himself came from the district of *Amphur* Sam Phran. He is just an example of earlier settlers and there are many people such as like him who migrated from Sam Phran and Nakhon Chaisi of Nakhon Pathom. Their descendants still keep a close contact with the original places through visiting their kinsmen or sharing merit-making activities.

The Om Noi Canal has several minor tributaries, the construction of which proves a gradual extension of the rice field. *Khlong* Khae of hamlet No. 2 was for example completed by 1900, *Khlong* Song Wirunrat of the same hamlet by 1937, and *Khlong* Ek Noi of hamlet No. 5 by 1939.

The other major canal, *Khlong* Si Samran which runs through hamlet No. 12, was constructed in 1920 by the former headman who organized labor force to carry out the work. *Khlong* Khaem is a minor tributary passing by hamlet No. 13 and was founded by the same period. As these canal systems were set up, the farm land of the village was expanded. And before the War, the village was so populated that it had to build another *Wat* and primary school within it. *Wat* Si Samran was founded in 1940. Its construction was iniciated by the grandmother and uncle of the present headman. They donated 20 *rai* of land. The *Wat* was named after the former headman to commemorate his great achievement of the canal construction.

Thus, by the time of a few decades ago, *Tambon* Om Noi accomplished a firm standing as one of promising rice-growing villages in *Amphur* Krathum Baen. According to the household survey carried out in 1957 by the district office, the village consisted of 425 households, out of which 303 engaged in rice-farming; owner-farmers being 45%, owner-farmer-tenants 24%, and tenants 31%. They cultivated about 10,000 *rai* of rice field in all. Out of the remainings, 129 households were laborers who lived on agricultural or construction wage works. Besides there were ten shopkeepers and seven government employees. These statistics give a picture of what the village used to be just before the recent encroachment of urban activities.

3. Impact of Urbanization

Any great change or development at village level presupposes oscillations in national policy. Traditionally Thailand has been an agricultural country and has a long history of rice exports. It seems, however, that great shifts took place twice at national level during the last more than one hundred years.

The first shift came at the beginning of 1870's under the reign of King Chulalongkorn. By elaborating incentive-taxation devices and eliminating all forms of slavery and the corvee system which had existed for centuries, the King succeeded in encouraging extension of cultivation and rice production among common people. The King also granted a permission to the newly formed Siam Canal and Irrigation Company to dig canals in a vast tract of flat and swampy land northeast of Bangkok. The Rangsit concession made a beginning towards systematic irrigation in the country and various discussions went around on the subject. Indeed before that, although several canal projects had been carried out, their purpose was primarily to facilitate transportation and communication between Bangkok and its hinterland rather than to establish irrigation systems for rice farming. Examples are the Maha Sawat Canal leading from Bangkok to Nakhon Chaisi; the Phasi Charoen Canal which runs from Thon Buri and meets the Tha Chin River; and the Damnoen Saduak Canal which acts as an extension of the Phasi Charoen Canal, connecting the Tha Chin River and the Mae *Khlong* River (Fig. 1). These were major projects under the reign of King Mongkut and were all completed during 1860's. The King also made a policy to encourage rice cultivation, granting a part of land along newly built canals. Yet during his reign, rice production and exports were quite limited and sugar industry was prevailing as one of the major exports. Sugar had been produced since 1810's by numerous plantations along the Mae *Khlong* River, in the vicinity of Nakhon Chaisi, and the Nakhon Pathom area. However the industry went into a rapid decline since 1871 when the crop was ruined by floods in Nakhon Chaisi.

Thus real expansion of rice cultivation did not begin until 1870, two years after the death of King Mongkut. The history of *Tambon* Om Noi, which was mentioned before, could be seen as a case of this general trend at national level. And the earlier development of the village may have depended on the decline of sugar industry in the province of Nakhon Pathom, accomplishment of major canal projects during King Mongkut; and the agricultural policy together with institutional reforms carried out by King Chulalongkorn.

The second great shift took place in the late 1950's when Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat assumed governing responsibilities. In 1960, immediately after his assumption of Prime Minister, the first national economic development plan was promulgated to take effect from the following year. The government concentrated its efforts on building up infrastructure of the national economy and, while abolishing state enterprises, began actively to promote private investment in manufacturing industry. A new institution set up to promote private industries was the Board of Investment, which took responsibilities for implementation of government acts on the promotion of industrial investment. The other institution was the Industrial Finance Corporation of Thailand. Although both institutions treated foreign and local firms alike, the former primarily aimed to attract foreigners to invest in Thailand while the latter to build up local enterprises. Compared with such an emphasis on industrialization, changes in agricultural sector were less drastic and more or less continuous. Agriculture received benefits from substantial government investment in social overhead facilities such as irrigation, transportation, and education. And the national budget for development plans covered various projects on extension service, agricultural cooperatives, community development and public utilities in rural area.

From the foregoing account of national trends, it follows that the rural change since the late 1950's could not be uniform throughout the country. Modes of the change must have been different from one area to another, depending on the effect of national plans. *Tambon* Om Noi represents a village of the area which has been the most influenced by the promotion of private industry.

Yet the change of *Tambon* Om Noi since the late 1950's have been neither internal nor direct. It was urban people, its capital, and its way of thinking that brought impacts upon the village. And the planning and accomplishment of highways and electricity in the vicinity laid a groundwork for modern spacial and socio-economic relation between the Bangkok metropolitan area and *Tambon* Om Noi which had been formerly a rice producing village. The construction of the present-day Phet Kasem Highway, which is one of the eight major lines of the country, was planned as early as about 1960 and completed in 1973. The improvement of infrastructure together with a geographical advantageousness and favorable condition of labor force attract industrially minded urban people to set about several modern enterprises within the village. The impact of urbanization were threefold as will be seen in the following.

Most striking features of urban encroachment were establishment of factories along the highways. In fact, while there had been only one ceramic home industry in 1957, the number of factories increased rapidly during 1960's; five factories with 56 *rai* of land in 1962, sixteen factories with 128 *rai* of land in 1967, and forty factories with 348 *rai* of land in 1972. They were primarily import substitution industries and most of them were runned by local capitals with a few others by joint venture. Textile and garment industries were the most popular; ceramic and tile industries came next; and steal furniture and pipe fitting industries the third. The largest ones were two textile and garment industries which employed more than 1,000 laborers respectively, whereas the others less than 150 laborers. On the whole, out of the forty industries under operation, thirteen factories comprised more than 100 labor force, seventeen factories 30 to 100 labor force, and the remaining ten factories less than 30 labor force. Thus more than 6,000 men and women working for factories set up in the village. And a sizable number of them came from other provinces or regions since the village could not meet an increasing demand of factory labor. Some of them lived in dormitories furnished by factories and others rent small houses in the village.

Second features of the impact of urbanization were several residential housing plots which were planned to be established nearby the highways. At the beginning of 1960's two large projects of public residential quarters were planned, and later three smaller private projects were set about by urban real estate agents (Figure 2). The former occupies 1,000 *rai* of land and the latter 300 *rai* of land which used to be rice fields. Since the village is quite near to the Bangkok-Thon Buri urban area, a lot of people rushed to apply for purchase. And thus the public residential quarters have already bought up by more than 1,200 government employees, each getting one to one sixths of *rai* of housing plot. Out of the 1,200 owners, 900 were those who lived in Bangkok-Thon Buri urban area, 50 in neighboring districts or provinces, and the remaining 200 in other provinces. It seems, however, that basic facilities were not completed yet and there were almost nobody who set about to build houses. It is still a matter of future that the village will turn into a real bed-town of the Bangkok metropolitan area.

The third features of the impact would be an encroachment of urban commercial businesses. But the activities were still quite limited and there were only one local branch of a bank, one business shop dealing with steal cabinets, and two gasoline service stations which were all urban origin. Remarkable aspects were a rapid increase of small enterprises runned by villagers and the number almost doubled from 48 to 72 during the five years of 1967–72. The most popular business was unskilled trade such as selling foods, drinks, clothing, hardware, and other miscellaneous necessities to passersby, factory workers, and villagers. Relatively larger ones were one contractor, two rice mill owners, and two realty dealers.

As these features of urban impact proceeded, the former outlook of *Tambon* Om Noi changed so greatly that it gives an impression of a small industrial complex at present. The transformation is evident from the following account of Om Noi's demographic trends, occupational structure, and pattern of land utilization. The data suggests that the village has developed in a direction different from surrounding villages whose changes are more or less on a continuous line.

Om Noi's population increased twice from 3,406 to 6,930 during the ten years of 1963–1972 in spite of a decrease of birth rate. The change is conspicuous, since population increased about 1.3 times in the district of Krathum Baen, 1.2 in the province of Samut Sakhon, and 1.3 in the whole country during the comparable period. The uniqueness was due to a drastic increase of net migration. The rate of net migrants to the total increase was 77.3% for the village and 22.6% for the district of Krathum Baen. And the outstanding increase of population in-flow was caused by pull factors of manufacturing industry of the village.

Changes of occupational structure are obvious. In 1972 the village consisted of 1,182 households, out of which only 230 or 26.4% engaged in agriculture. Among them there were 193 rice-farming households; owner-farmers being 50.2%, owner-farmer-tenants 13.3%, and tenants 36.5%. Agricultural households thus decreased a lot since 1957, while non-agricultural households increased so rapidly as to exceed greatly the amount of the decreased. The largest category was that of laborers which reached to 848 households; the next came traders and shop keepers counting 83 households; and the third government or other white collar employees being 31 households.

The recent demise of rice-farming is definite, because out of 303 rice-farming households in 1957, only 47.1% were successors who continued to grow rice up to 1972. Other 32.5% changed occupation and the remaining 20.4% were those who moved out from the village or died out. Thus the loss of rice farming households during the 15 years reached to 52.9%. Against this figure, on the other hand, agricultural replacements counted as small as 25.5% of the 303 households; about one thirds being recruited from within and the other thirds from outside of the village. At the same time, the rice field under operation was reduced from 10,224 *rai* in 1957 to 5,702 *rai* in 1972 with a decrease of 44.2%. From the foregoing statistics it follows that out of 10,224 *rai* of rice continued to be rice field, 1,300 *rai* was converted to new residential, and 348 *rai* to sites for factories. The use of the remaining 2,874 *rai* was not clear, but it is quite likely that most of it was left uncultivated.

The decrease of agricultural households, change of land utilization, and increase of non-agricultural households were not uniform within the village, differing from one hamlet to another. In general the more close it is located to the highways, the more intense the impact of urbanization is and the more conspicuous changes are. The closest hamlets are Nos. 2, 4, 6, and 12, and the farthest hamlets being Nos. 1, 3, 8 and 9. Hamlets No. 5, 7, 10, and 13 are situated somewhere between the above two groupings (Figure 2).

In the following sections dealing with various aspects of rural changes during the 15 years of 1957–1972, 35 household samples were taken among the 303 rice-farming households which had existed in 1957. And most of the sample households were eventually situated nearby the highways.

4. Processes of Adaptation

The previous account of a small industrial complex implies processes of "de-farming" which took place at individual household level. And this is the most important aspect of rural change under the impact of urbanization. Three patterns of processes have been observed; transformation of former rice-producing farmers into factory laborers, non-rice farming landowners, and part-time subsistent farmers.

The transformation had no correlation with level of schooling of the household heads concerned, but it seems to be somewhat related with types of farm households by land tenure. Out of 35 sample households, 22 were owner-farmers (including part-owners), and 13 were tenants in 1957. And first, 10 former tenants gave up rice farming to be factory workers during the 15 years of 1957–1972. These households are classified into two categories; "tenant-laborer" and "tenant-retired" according whether the household heads are economically active or not. Secondly, 13 former owner-farmers also abandoned to plant rice to be nonrice farming landowners during the same period. These households are divided again into two categories according to economic position of the households; "owner-farmer-active" and "owner-farmer-retired." Thirdly, eight former owner-farmers and three tenants did not stop planting rice during the period and continued to be rice farmers by reducing farm size. These households are under the category of "owner-farmer-successor" and "tenant-successor" respectively. Finally, there was one former owner-farmer who happened to fall down because of misfortune.

Many factors are related to these processes of de-farming, which are seen as ecological adaptations to changing conditions of rice farming under the impact of urban encroachment. Major factors are emerging land value stimulated by the establishment of non-agricultural enterprises, an increasing demand of factory labor which attracted many villagers, the desolation of rice fields accompanied by changes of land utilization, and an increase of farm expenditures which was accelerated much more than ever before. Working of these factors are evident in the following analysis of farm managements at the years of 1957, 1967, and 1972.

Noticed are three events: first, the average yield of rice per *rai* decreased during the period and 1967 was the worst year because of a bad crop; secondly, it is those who tied over the critical situation of the year that could survive as rice farmers until 1972, and thirdly, although the average yield largely recovered in 1972, the productivity in terms of capital in-put was not as good as that of 1957. Difficulties in farm management are definite and villagers themselves are well aware of worsening of rice farming conditions. They all complained pests and diseases in rice fields, a large amount of management costs, and shortage of agricultural labor in the village.

Indeed pests and diseases were the main cause of bad crops around 1967. Villagers immediately took countermeasures by applying a lot of insecticide and raticide with a strenuous effort of the district office. Yet the result was not so good as it had been expected, and insects and rats still gave troubles on rice fields. The average yield in 1972 was much lower than that of the province or the whole country. The continuous suffering was partly due to imperfect care of rice fields, but partly due to changing physical environment. Thus it is suspected that wasted land may have been a good place for rats to make nests; newly proposed sites for factories and residential quaters may have brought an unfavorable result on drainage systems; and polluted water may have prevented a healthy growth of rice plants.

Secondly, an increase of farm expenditures during the period is obvious. 110.3 *baht* per *rai* in 1957, 136.6 *baht* in 1967, and 163.4 *baht* in 1972. Among major items of expenditures, the most increased was hired labor and the next was maintenance of machinery, and other items such as rent and agricultural chemicals being relatively unchanged. Throughout the period, rent was fixed 10 *thang* or 100 *baht* per *rai*, although it might be reduced in a particular social situation in which tenants found themselves. Fertilizer was introduced as early as in the late 1950's and spread among most of villagers within a few years. Raticide was widely used in spite of its little effectiveness. On the other hand, wages paid for hired labor increased double from 41.2 *baht* per *rai* in 1957 to 84.7 *baht* in 1972. The loss of agricultural labor within family, shortage of agricultural labor in the village, and rise in agricultural wages were all responsible for the increase of personnel expenses. Agricultural machinery includes water pumps and tractors. The former was introduced in the late 1950's, while the latter was relatively a recent innovation which could serve to make up the shortage of agricultural labor.

The third aspect of changing conditions is labor force within the village. Different trends have been observed with respect to children's activities of former owner-farmers and tenants. It is estimated that owner-farmer households could earn in average as much as 8,000 *baht* of cash income a year from rice cultivation, wheareas tenant households about 2,000 *baht* if they were not in debt. Therefore the latter must have been more attracted than the former by opportunities for factory labor. In both cases, while children who engaged in agriculture decreased rapidly during the period of 1957–1972, those who worked for factories increased constantly. But the rate of increase is much more drastic in tenant households than owner-farmer households. 60% of tenants' children became factory workers until 1967, whereas owner-farmers' children were more interested in higher schooling or other occupations. Thus a great shift of labor force from agricultural to industrial sector occured first among children of the tenants' households during earlier years of the period.

To these changing conditions of rice farming, Om Noi farmers tried to adapt themselves in their own ways. First, most of former tenants transformed themselves into factory workers: eight of them were tenant-laborers and three being tenant-retired households. A ssoon as opportunities for factory labor were provided, many children of tenant households rushed into factories, while their parents still had to cling on rice cultivation in tenancy. Then they formed part-time farming households. But just after 1967, when they suffered from a serious damage by a bad crop, most of the household heads began to give up farming to become laborers themselves. The average net income in value was as low as 15.7 *baht* per *rai* or 314 *baht* per household in spite of a reduction of farm expenditures and partial exemption of rent. The tenants could not supply the rice they would consume in the family. The deficits must have been largely made up by the cash income which their children brought from factories. Eventually all the members of tenant households turned out to be factory workers. And in 1972 these households comprised 3.1 workers in average. Those household heads who did not become factory workers were the aged. They thus retired from farming, living with their children or otherwise making a bare living by means of selling cakes for village children.

The second process was the transformation of former owner-farmers into non-rice farming landowners. The ways of adaptation were quite different from those of tenants because owner-farmers could not be indifferent to an emerging value of the land they had previously owned. However, some of them were more or less entrepreneurially minded middle aged people who actively worked upon changes of their circumstances, and others traditionally oriented aged people who accepted the situation rather passively. The former is referred to "owner-farmer-active" and the latter "owner-farmer-retired"

Those villagers of owner-farmer-active sold most of their former rice fields, and they, although not all, immediately after the disposition bought new rice fields in neighboring districts or upland fields in the far west. These new lands were not cultivated by themselves, but rented out to the local people. The active farmers become non-rice farming landowners in this way. At the same time the landowners rented land to plant rice in the village they lived. They tried to run farms in a capital intensive method, spending more money on fertilizer and hired labor. But it turned out to be a great failure during bad crops around 1967. The average net income of owner-farmer-active at the year of de-farming was 37.1 *baht* per *rai* which implies about 1,000 *baht* in the red per household. This unfortunate event was the main reason for the landowners to give up rice farming and look for a new living in their own way. And in 1972, out of eight owner-farmer-active households, two set about home industries, two run small shops, three lived on planting grape and mushroom, and the other one became a clerk working for an insurance company.

On the other hand, the owner-farmer-retired households were those who were somewhat reluctant to dispose of rice fields they had cultivated. Although they sold some portion when they met a good chance, they did not have any idea of getting new lands in other places with the money they earned from land disposition. The earned money was spent for getting agricultural implements or making merits at the *wat*, but largely used for their children who wanted to continue to study, to hold marriage ceremony, to buy a car or to run a small shop. Thus the household heads themselves themselves continued to plant rice on a relatively large size of rice field until around 1967. However, as they became old and their children moved out from the family to establish their own living, the household heads soon or later retired from rice farming. The land they owned were partly rented out and partly left uncultivated. These owner-farmer-retired households heads thus had to depend on their children for living, although some of them engaged in a minor activity. They suffered from some difficulties in farm management at the year of defarming, but the state was not so serious as those of other farmers at the time. Partition and age together with bad crops were the major motives of de-farming for these people.

In the final analysis, out of 35 sample households, 24 changed occupation while giving up rice cultivation during the 15 years of 1957–1972. The other 11 households remained to be rice farmers as ever before. But it was not without changes of attitude toward rice farming, since they virtually reduced farm size transforming themselves into part-time subsistent farmers. Eight of them were owner-farmer-successors and three were tenant-successors.

Owner-farmer-successors formerly owned 349 *rai* of rice field in all and the sieze of land owned did not change much throughout the period. They cultivated rice fields with little change of size until 1967. It was the year of a bad crop and the average net income was 30.5 *baht* per *rai* or 1,616.5 *baht* per household. The figures are much better than other rice farmers at the time, but they still imply an amount of money with which the owner-farmer-successors could barely provide the rice they would consume in the family. What they realized at the moment was: first, they could not assume as much surplus as they used to produce; secondly, it would be unnecessary for them to cultivate as much land as they had done, if they continued to plant rice primarily for family consumption; and thirdly, much less reasonable it would be for them to extend their farm size by increasing the part of land in tenancy.

The full-owners were relatively in a better state, getting an average net income of 76.7 *baht* per *rai* or 4,602.0 *baht* per household. The part-owners suffered from a great difficulty; the average net income was 28.6 per *rai* or 1,315.6 *baht* in the red per household. Both types of farmers rapidly reduced their farm size during the 15 years, particularly since 1967, and the decrease up to 1972 reached to as much as a half of the cultivated land of 1957. In the course of reduction, full-owners wasted a large part of their own land, whereas part-owners cut down the part of land in tenancy and tended to get more rice fields to increase the part of land in possession.

As these owner-farmer-successors transformed themselves into subsistent farmers, subsidiary activities tended to prevail among family members. Out of the children over 11 who lived with their parents, 45.8% engaged in agriculture and the other 54.2% engaged in non-agricultural activites (including students) in 1967; while only 17.3 % in the former and the other 82.7 % in the latter in 1972. And average agricultural labor force in the family decreased from 3.0 persons in 1967 to 2.1 persons in 1972. It was also after 1967 that these part-time subsistent farmers started to introduce tractors in order to make up the loss of agricultural labor within the family, and six of them owned tractors in 1972.

Finally, tenant-successors were always less advantageouse than owner-farmer-successors. Yet they did not give up farming. In a sense it may be a matter of personal preference, but it is also likely that tenant-successors could find a better rice field than what they had formerly rented in.

5. Consequences and Consciouseness

To sum up, the main features of urban encroachment of *Tambon* Om Noi since the late 1950's were the establishment of manufacturing industries and proposed sites of residential housing plots. This kind of urbanization gave a great impact upon previous physical, social, and economic conditions of rice farming. And to these changing conditions, former rice producing farmers adapted themselves in various ways, which eventually resulted in an overall de-farming throughout the village. The process of de-farming took place at individual household level without any intervention of formal organizations at hamlet, village, or district level. And the process was threefold: transformation into factory laborers, non-rice farming landowners, and part-time subsistent farmers. As the ecological adaptation proceeded, Om Noi's demographic, occupational, and land structures underwent such a rapid change as the village gave an outlook of a small industrial complex by the time of 1972. These ongoing processes constituted the core area of change during the 15 years of 1957–1972. In the following some of its consequences upon various aspects of village life will be described.

As for a distribution of cash income during the last one year by grades of earnings and patterns of ecological adaptation, out of 35 sample households, 28 (80.0 %) fall in the category of 10,000–30,000 *baht*, four (11.4 %) in that of less than 10,000 *baht*, and the remaining three (8.6 %) in that of more than 30,000 *baht*. The lower grade includes those households which lacked enough labor force within the family as they were smaller in size, and the higher grade those households which run home industries or had family members who worked for salary. The large part of middle grade includes various housholds, and its sub-categories cut across the patterns of adaptation. There are households which earned only 10,000–20,000 *baht* even among part-time subsistent farmers and non-rice farming landowners, while on the other hand some households of factory laborer could get as much as 20,000–30,000 *baht*. It was relatively easy for the latter to get such amount of income, when a family comprised three factory workers among its members. Furthermore out of 35 sample households, 18 (51.5 %) felt a recent increase of cash income and the other 17 (48.5 %) thought that it remained the same or decreased. And the 18 households comprise quite a sizable number of laborer households. The reason for the increase was due to opportunities for non-agricultural occupation, and that for the decrease to the size of family labor force or the decline of rice farming.

In general, as opportunities for non-agricultural occupations became more available among villagers, the cash income per household largely increased and they were well aware of the betterment of their economic standing. Indeed the standard of living was generally improved. Among 13 items, toothbrush, shoes, wrist-watch, and radio had been used by some villagers as early as in the late 1950's, but the number of owners reached to 60 % of 35 sample households in 1967 and almost 100 % in 1972. Sewing machines and living sets were introduced around 1967, and 48.5 % of the samples owned the former and 40.0 % owned the latter in 1972. Television sets, electric fans, and refrigerators were recent innovations, and as soon as electric facilities were introduced in 1970, many villagers wanted to have them. Thus in 1972, 57.1 % of the samples owned T.V., 48.5% electric fans, and 31.4 % owned refrigerators. These new household utensils were owned by laborer households as likely as other kinds of households.

We can obtain some estimation about different trends of saving, lending, borrowing, and pawing among 35 sample households. First, among part-time subsistent farmers and factory laborers, there were only a few house-hold heads who could save as much as 1,000 *baht*, while on the other hand there were a sizable number of those who borrowed money from neighborers, friends, kinsmen, or pawn shops, though the amount which was borrowd rarely exceeded 1,000 *baht*. Secondly, non-rice farming landowners were in a better condition, since relatively many of them could save as much as 2,000–4,000 *baht* or lent money to neighborers, friends, or other villagers. Thirdly, among the landowners, those of owner-retired did not borrow money, while some of owner-active were interested in doing so for investment. Thus, if savings and assets are taken into account, some economic differentiation is noticed among non-rice farming landowners, part-time subsistent farmers, and factory laborers.

But at the moment, villagers were more aware of the general improvement of cash income and standard of living. And there were a few villagers who overtly expressed dissatisfaction to what they had chosen in their process of adaptation. Out of 35 sample household heads, 28 were those who positively evaluated new occupations or otherwise those who were contented with the existing occupational stand. The other seven household heads expressed some dissatisfaction, out of which three were one non-rice farming landowner and two part-time subsistent farmers who were all looking for better occupational activities. The remaining four household heads thought that since they had to worry about the rice they consume, it would have been better for them to be rice farmers.

Parents's attitudes toward children's occupation changed more drastic than their own, because no sample household heads desired that their children would become farmers. Desirable occupations for children were government employee, professional and trader, and factory laborer. Accordingly parents hoped that their children would be enrolled in higher schooling. 74.4 % of 35 sample household heads wanted their boys to learn in school higher than secondary level, and 63.9 % for daughters. And as for children themselves, 66.6 % of 126 students who were in the seventh grade of primary school decided to be applicants for secondary school.

In the realm of family and kinship, changes took place with respect to the pattern of daily activities and agricultural cooperative works. But the size and composition of family hardly changed with a high percentage of extended family. Traditional characters of Thai family such as an inclination to uxorial residence, weak lineality, equal division of property, minimum authority within the family, relative freedom of its members, children's respect to their parents, and sympathetic attitudes among family members were all ascertained by most of 35 sample household heads. For example, out of 126 children who were enrolled in the seventh grade of primary school, 87 told that when they would earn money for the first time, they would give some to their parents; 35 that they would keep it for their own necessities, school expenditures, or deposit; two that they were uncertain. And suppose they would give some out of their earnings, 12 told that they would give it all; 18 that they would do one thirds; and the other 96 that they would do half of it.

The foregoing account of the family does not give any impression of disorganization, and it was rather well integrated as in the former days. However, out of 35 sample household heads, four (11.4 %) felt that the family was just a place for boarding. These families were essentially denuded nuclear families consisting of husband and wife who were old and whose children had married and gone to live elsewhere. This might be a recent occurance. The remaining 31 household heads (88.6 %) found the family more meaningful than the above case, and they may be divided into two groupings. First, 15 household heads (42.9 %) thought that the family was a place in which the members got together to work for each other. Secondly, the other 16 includes those who told that the family was a place to provide the pleasures for a sweet home, and those who told that the family was the most comfortable place in which the members could easily understand and be very generous each other. The former somewhat puts an emphasis on the productive function, and the latter the psychological function of the family.

Above the family, there have been few clear-cut functional groups in the village. Yet neighbors, friends, and kinsmen in the village have constituted functioning social networks through which villagers could seek mutual help at various occasions. Although agricultural cooperation had disappeared with an increasing dependence on hired labor, the networks still had an important function for villagers. Out of 35 samples, 28 household heads (80 %) told that neighbors were those whom they always asked for help or those whom they could relied on the most. However, the other seven (20 %) includes six household heads who said that neighbors were those with whom they would occasionally make a conversation, and one household head who told that neighbors were not reliable. These figures, though small, might suggest a changing aspect of village life.

Out of 35 sample household heads, there were only three (8.5 %) who thought that the hamlet was just a place in which to live. The remaining 33 (91.5 %) household heads found the village more meaningful than that. But out of them, four (11.4 %) had a passive view saying that the hamlet was a place where the headman would be found. The other 28 (80.1 %) took a more positive attitude, which may be divided into the following two groupings. The first is 16 household heads (45.8 %) who regarded the hamlet as overlapping networks of neighbors who should cooperate with each other. The second is 12 houshold heads (34.3 %) who viewed the hamlet more or less as a social entity for which the members should cooperate with each other. The latter is more conscious of the hamlet than the former. Similarly, out of the same samples, three (8.5 %) regarded the hamlet as a place in which to live; six (17.1 %) as a place in which the headman would be found; 10 (28.6 %) as overlapping networks of mutual help; 16 (45.8 %) as a social group for which the members should cooperate each other. And it seems that non-rice farming landowners were more conscious of the hamlet and village than factory laborers.

To sum up, there is no sign of disorganization at any level of family, hamlet, or village, though some figures might be interpreted as changing features. And there are a sizable number of people who thought that villagers should cooperate for the hamlet and village. Yet there is a problem which derived from the institutional structure of the village.

The general aspect of administrative structure of *Tambon* Om Noi does not differ from that of other rural area. *Kamnan* is the head of the village and *phujai ban* is the head of the hamlet. The latter is selected by the hamlet dwellers and the former is chosen from among all the hamlet headmen in the village. They are all subject to the approval of the district officer and have a duty to attend the meeting held at the district office once a month. At the meeting, the village and hamlet headmen receive official announcements and make a necessary report to the district officer. The hamlets do not have their own budget, but *Tambon* Om Noi has gained a revenue source since the village was raised to the status of sanitary district. The committee consists of the district officer and deputy-district officers, the chief of police, the chief of welfare section, all the village and hamlet headmen, and four representatives. And such projects as construction of a health center, reconstruction of school building, extension of feeder road, dredging of a canal were subsidized by the sanitary district.

However, these local institutions had some difficulties in organizing villagers. The hamlet and village headmen were rather old, half of whom were more than 60 years old and the average age was 57 years old. These headmen were not always well acquainted with people in the village because of a great increase of population and households. And they found themselves in a situation where they could not call a meeting. If they had done, a lot of people would be absent as they engaged in different occupations. Neither hamlet nor village meetings were held during the last long time. Each hamlet or village headman had to give official announcement by making the round of his block, passing round a written notice, or asking children to bring it home. Finally, not all of the headmen were equally keen on the matter of development, and only occasionally they attended the meetings of the committee of the sanitary district. And there were not much opportunities for villagers to participate in the development of the village area, since the committee included only four village representatives.

In other words, under the existing institutions, neither the hamlet nor the village had any substantial organization to which villagers could bring up their problems to be discussed and in which they would make some decision on the subject as a village affair. Villagers' needs and dissatisfaction reached to the district office or sanitary district committee only through an individual contact with their own headman when they knew him well.

Besides the institutional difficultities, there were on the other hand a sign of real problems on living conditions in the village. As has been described earlier, in general villagers were well aware of the latest increase of cash income, delighted at the betterment of standard of living, and satisfied with their existing occupations. And moreover most of them evaluated the latest changes of the village. Out of 35 samples, 31 household heads (88.5 %) had an opinion that they liked the way the village had changed, and the other four (11.5 %) acknowledged it with some reservation. Nevertheless some dissatisfaction was observed among almost half of villagers. Out of the 35 samples, 19 household heads (54.3 %) said that the living there around the village had become better than the former days; one told that it remained the same; but the other 15 household heads (42.9 %) complained that it had become more difficult. And among the latter, there were some villagers who complained of the latest worsening of natural and social environment, saying that the water was polluted, it became difficult to find fish in the water, many puppies hung about streets, or fruits in the garden were often taken away by some of young laborers. During the survey, such complainings were still limited and villagers themselves were not so keen on the matter of preservation of environment. But in the near future the problem may take a manifest form in connection with the wasted land, undeveloped new residential sites, half slumed living quaters, and a more systematic utilization of water for living, agriculture, and industry.

These new problems would not be solved by individual villagers or amorphous social networks of neighbors, friends, and kinsmen. Neither the existing cooperative attitude of some villagers is sufficient to cope with the difficulty. It would be required to improve village institution in a way that they could utilize it for organizing villagers. Fortunately, at the moment, *Tambon* Om Noi have not been disorganized in the domain of day-to-day living. In fact stability and social order were well maintained by observances of cultural premises, which was evident from villagers' attitudes to the parents, priests, and king, their views on life goal and world view, their attitudes toward patterns of social intercourse with acquaintances and superiors, and their way to get along with people. Thus for the time being, it would be desirable for them to establish a firm village institution together with the better way to use it. This constitutes a great problem for villagers and the real development of the small industrial complex depends much on their social attainment in the future.

6. Summary

Tambon Om Noi, consisting of thirteen hamlets, is located some 25 kilometers westwards from Bangkok. It was about 1870 that people started to settle down in this area. Since then they have developed it into one of the promising rice-growing villages of the lower Chao Phraya delta, but during these fifteen years (1957–72) many factories have been set up side by side along the highways. Under the impact of these and other urban encroachments, the village has undergone a rapid change to be a small industrial complex.

The most striking is "de-farming." The data disclose three patterns of adaptive processes; emergence of factory laborers, non-rice farming landowners, and part-time subsistent farmers. Yet income distribution cross-cuts these categories of households. In general standard of living has been largely improved and differentiation seems to be at the minimum. In the social sphere, however, with the demise of agricultural cooperative works, population increase, and occupational diversity, the village and hamlet headmen are facing difficulty in carring out even their administrative duties. As there have been a few functional organizations in the village scene, its integration depends much on the traditional cultural premises regulating direct relations among neighbors, kinsmen, and friends.

The summary of the findings implies that any social change presupposes a gap among its main areas; institutional organizations often fail to catch up economic changes, whereas cultural values tend to be unchanged for long; this problem will be more serious as inhabitants become aware of difficulties on their living and life environment.

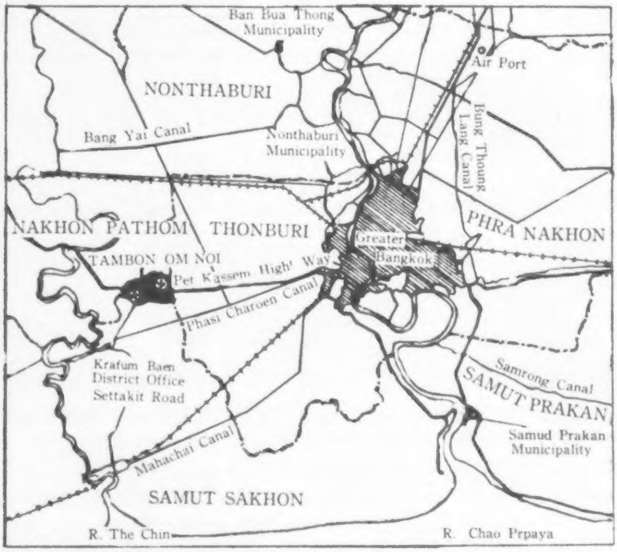

Fig. 1. Greater Bangkok & Tambon Om Noi

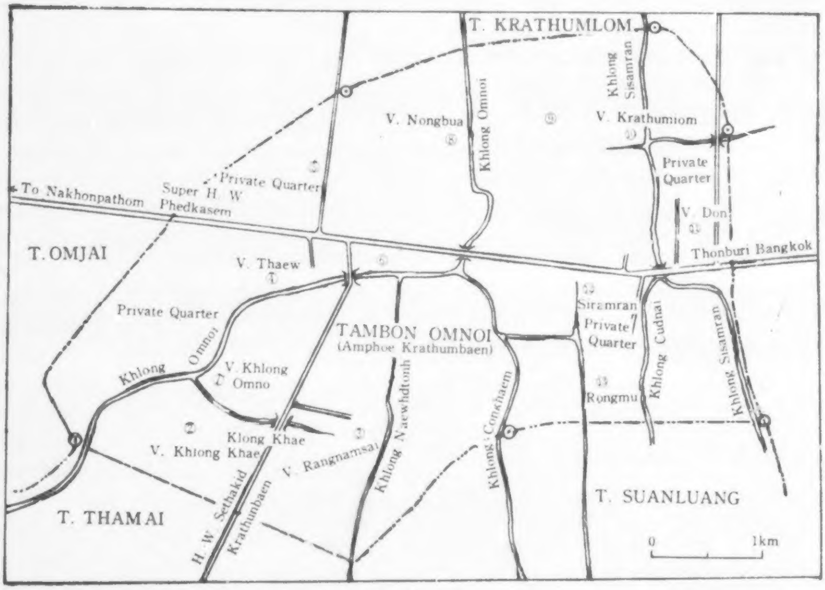

Fig. 2. Tambon Om ciN

CLOSING SESSION

Monday morning, June 21, 1976
Chairman: Prof. Khunying Suparb Visesurmakarn of Thailand

After coffee break, Rapporteur Mr. A. Mariono, Indonesia, gave a brief minutes of the seminar. After that, a discussion was led by Mr. G. L. McClymont, Australia to revise the draft of "THIRD ASIAN Pacific SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT SEMINAR CONCLUSIONS AND Recommendations". A closing address was made by Director Dong Whan Lee, as attached.

The meeting was adjourned.

Prof. Yoshinobu Takahashi
Faculty of Economis, Kagoshima Univ., Japan

In the last stage of this valuable and fruitful trip, and meeting, I will give some comments to Social Development Seminar for Rural Community.

Firstly, it is financial problems. We must spend many expenditure for social development. These spendings must use available effect to our purposes. But these finance makes two ways. One way is channel of government and other channel is self-financing in community. Now and then, self-finance has many difficult situation in lower level income community. But, when including some self-financing, they would pay more regard to their activity. And then, we will provide the financial system for this activity. It includes to make loan, credit and self-insurance in this system. We show that these systems are being operated by farmer's co-operation in Japan now.

Secondly, social development in rural community does not realize only activity of rural community. Because our social activity is composed of rural community and urban community, many problems in rural community are also problems in urban community. For example, it is movement of manpower from rural area to urban community. This is just economic problem. Because we have a productivity gap between industries. This gap makes income gap between industries. Productivity of primary industry is always less than "Secondary Industry". We just look this economic fact. We need balance between rural country and urban county. Our problem must find ways of this balance between rural and urban county.

Mr. Sombat Thavorn
Project Officer, CCTD, Thailand

As delegates from Thailand, we would like to express something concerning this Third Asian Pacific Social Development Seminar.

We would like to thank Director Dong Whan Lee, Dr. Mao, and The Republic of China, the host country and every one concerned in making available this ASPAC Seminar so that the forum of idea exchanges could be carried out.

If this seminar's consequences, as a whole, are to be categorized into two aspects—

direct and indirect, we would say the indirect outcomes are rather grand.

Direct results of this seminar could not be extensively realized, according to my opinion, due to less time for group discussing of some specific problems. Every participant seemed to have presented different ideas of his need for his country, owing to the different social, economic and political backgrounds, which in most cases no outside powers can overpower them so and so to initiate some valuable changes towards the most effective development—all these are very good indeed.

But, anyhow, from we have heard and learnt from this ASPAC Seminar, we have really realized that in order to assure the accomplishments of all the countries in this Asian areas, agricultural sector is the one first to be handled intensively and cooperatively by all influential, and non-influential groups, from the lowest level—rural dwellers, up to the top level, the government, all of which must be aspired with the needs of nation building—The Republic of China has been the tremendous example to me, our field trip has showed and indicated that actuality. We really appreciate this.

All the things we have seen and experienced have greatly encouraged and inspired us. When we go back to Thailand, we hope to do something for our country.

Thank you.

Mr. Hsiu-hsiung, Bai
Professor, National Chengchi University, Republic of China

On behalf of the Chinese participatnts here, people in my country, I would like to extend our heartful thanks to all of you. This is a mini-United Nation of development. I really enjoy with group for these days during the seminar discussion and field trip. We have learned so much from you. We had a good time together during the field trip. I hope all of you enjoyed your staying here. I hate to say good-by now, but I sincerely hope this kind of farewell is only the begining of future cooperation. I hope we all have more opportunities to get together and exchange our points of view, our experiences, and the common problems in the community. I hope all of you have a nice trip back to your home town. Again, thank you for your attending this meeting and contributions, and hope to see all of you in the near future.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Third Asian Pacific Social Development Seminar on "The Most Effective Strategy to Promote Rural Development" took place in Taipei from 15 to 21 June 1976 under the joint sponsorship of the Cultural and Social Centre, headquartered in Seoul, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Interior, Taiwan Provincial Government, Taipei Municipal Government, and the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction of the Republic of China.

A total of 60 participants, representing 11 countries and territories, joined the seminar held at the Conference Room of the JCRR.

The delegates unanimously express their deep gratitude and appreciation to His Excellency President C. K. Yen of the Republic of China for his congratulatory message, read by Honorable Vice Minister Lei, and for graciously receiving them in audience on the opening day.

The delegates also wish to thank His Excellency The Minister of Education, His Excellency Dr. Y. S. Tsiang for presiding over the opening ceremony and his welcome address in which he stressed the improvement of the small farmers as basic to the development of a nation. The delegates thank Dr. Y. K. Mao for his keynote address in which he set the tone of the seminar and summed very succinctly the rural development strategy of the Republic of China which may well serve as the paragon for other communities to follow.

The delegates were unanimous in their conclusion that social development is actualization of the meeting with human needs either as individuals or as a community in a sharing manner; the basic concept is sharing and eliminating of explotiation (or monopoly). The delegates also believe that social development is a process involving the mobilization or utilization of human resources for the common good and social justice.

In all forms of social development, particularly in community development, the people must be involved in order to bring about self-reliance. Hence, projects are to be implemented with maximum reliance upon community resources but with some technical and financial assistance from government agencies. As brought out by some delegates, some of the more basic strategies for social development in rural areas include, among others, decentralization, conscientization of peoples, rural leadership training which can produce the rural catalyst or change agents, coordination with various existing agencies, but above all, human behaviors must be taken into account.

In any effort at social development, the people must be informed and organized so that they can present their needs to government and government should be made aware of the needs of the people. It is considered vital to social development that the people participate in their own development, for in the final analysis, the objective of social development is human fulfilment.

The delegates were given a rare opportunity to see at first hand the intensive and extensive development of the rural areas of the Republic of China through a tour organized by the JCRR and Taiwan Provincial Gov't. Through this tour, they have come to appreciate the tremendous efforts of the Government of the Republic of China to uplift the standard of living of the rural folk as well as the response of the farmers and villages to the government's efforts, thus making the rural population in the Republic one of the best developed peoples in this part of the world. Special mention must also be made of the Saemaul Undong of the Republic of Korea where the farmers have outdistanced the urban workers in their per capita income, proving once again that with the leadership of the government and the cooperation of the people, development can be achieved. Also worth mentioning is the achievements of the plantation workers of Malaysia who have a share in the ownership of the estates in parts of that country.

It was brought out that the term "eliminate proverty" is a very optimistic way of expressing it. To fight poverty, to diminish it as much as possible, a community, a country, or mankind must consider itself first one family, wherein each respects the other and is concerned about the other. No strategy will help to eliminate poverty if man continues to spend more money and knowhow for destruction and eliminating itself, than it does for development. The question was raised that if by eliminating poverty, some equally serious problems would not arise such as crime, pollution, or some other psychological problems.

The delegates recommend the undertaking of the following studies:

(1) A comparative study of community development approaches and strategies in the Asia, and Pacific Region.

(2) A comparative study of land reform programs and their development in the region, with particular reference to changing social structures.

(3) A study of the influence of multinationals in the social development of the region.

(4) A study of the potential for improving the contributions of formal education institutions to rural development.

The delegates also recommend that the theme for the next, The Fourth Social Development Seminar to be sponsored by the Cultural and Social Center shall be role of peasant/farmer/fishermen organizations in the Asia and Pacific Region.

The delegates propose that the Cultural and Social Center issue a regular Newsletter or magazine, whichever is feasible, for the further exchange of information on social development in the Asia and Pacific Region.

The delegates unanimously express their gratitude and appreciation to the sponsors of the Seminar, represented by Director Dong Whan Lee, of the Cultural and Social Centre, and Chairman Lee, of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction for the excellent arrangements and accommodation for the participants as well as for the smooth functioning of the Seminar. They are grateful for the members of the Secretariat for the hard work that they personally put into the preparation and conduct of the seminar, particularly under the leadership of Chairman Dr. Mao and Executive Secretary Mr. Shih and Dr. Ko-wang, Mei.

CLOSING ADDRESS

Mr Dong Whan Lee
Direcror
ASPAC Cultural and Social Center

Fellow Participants,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have now reached the end of our course. We have not only gained new wisdom and insight into the most effective strategies for integral human development in rural Asia, but, thanks to the efforts of Chairman Dr. Y. K. MAO of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction and his staff, we have seen at firsthand with our own eyes how the rural population of the Republic of China have achieved tremendous success in their own development.

I believe that I speak for all participants in saying that the seminar and particularly the ovservation tour of the farm population of this great country have given us a new optimism for the future of the Asian and Pacific region. For here, we have seen that the gap between the urban and rural peoples, common to Asia, simply does not exist. And I hope that what the Chinese people can do, other communities can duplicate.

As we close our seminar and return to our respective communities, I am sure that we are now qualified to spread the good news of social development according to the pattern set forth by the people of this great country.

The proceedings of the seminar will be published by the Centre in book form in three months. The outstanding recommendations of the seminar as well as your brilliant ideas on development will find their way to constituting policies of governments and institutions and will thus most certainly affect the present generation and generations yet to come.

On behalf of the participants and observers, I wish to thank our gracious hosts the five agencies under the Chinese Government, and the very able staff of our Secretariat under the Capable leadersitip of Dr. Spencer Shih and MR. John Cheng for the smooth functioning of the seminar and the very cordial and pleasant atmosphere in which it was conducted. I express my gratitude and appreciation to each and everyone of the participants for sharing with us of their time, talent, and interest—the foundation stones for the huge success of our seminar.

As a Chinese proverb has it, "The journey of a thousand *li* begins with a single step." The seminar has been a great leap forward toward the permanent solution of Asia's perennial problem of rural development. Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you all for having been with us all the way, and may I wish you a pleasant journey back to your home countries.

Thank you.